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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 112, NO. 19 NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 7, 1945 NUMBER 1588

Military Review

HOWEVER fanaticism attempts to prolong the struggle, it is altogether unlikely that the Nazis can make any real defense within the boundaries of the pre-Hitler Reich; and there is a fine historical irony about an end that finds them in possession of nothing but the shadow of their conquests and the bodies of their victims. It is perhaps worth noting that this was inherent in the situation from the beginning—the logical military product of a strategy that rejected strategy for politics.

Political, not military, strategy directed the establishment of the "National Redoubt" (most of it, incidentally, in Austria). It is a device which stands no chance of achieving anything in a military sense; but the German leaders probably felt that as long as something calling itself the German army remained at large there and continued to take Allied lives, the millions of German prisoners would continue to receive the full benefits of the Geneva Convention. These benefits accord them living conditions far above anything in the liberated countries, and would be a not inconsiderable step in the direction of that biological victory for which our enemies began to play even before the prospect of the military victory grew dim.

It is not the first time that fascism has attempted to use to its own advantage democracy's respect for law. Neither is it the first occasion on which fascism's methods have defeated themselves, but the process is instructive. To maintain the troop and command morale necessary for a long stand in the National Redoubt, it was required that nothing should be abandoned without a fight to the last man and bullet, not the line of the Vistula or the Roer, not the Saar or the Dutch ports or the Apennine crests of Italy. It was required that Berlin should make a last-man defense and should be supported in it by every man and gun that could be brought into the city.

The result has been that the armies which should be manning the National Redoubt have been destroyed in detail far from that point and General Dittmar on surrendering describes the whole thing as a myth. The General's business is being a pessimist and his description is probably not quite accurate, but the troops of the Third, Seventh and French First Armies have penetrated the last-stand area with less difficulty than the Germans experienced at the Maginot Line after Weygand's field forces were broken. The point is that the area is too big to be defended by anything less than a first-class army, extremely well organized in its supply and communications departments. Thanks to delaying their retreat to the redoubt till the last moment—a delay imposed by the very ideas which set up the citadel—the Nazis are going into it with a patchwork of badly broken formations, particularly weak in the higher organizations. There is no reason to believe they can hold out long.

The Japanese, it is true, manage to hold out for considerable periods in situations far more desperate. Indeed, the Allied troops transferred from Europe to the East will discover on arrival that most of what they have learned about war is not true; that a Japanese force becomes most dangerous and inflicts the heaviest casualties at precisely the point where a German army begins to break up into mass surrenders.

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1945, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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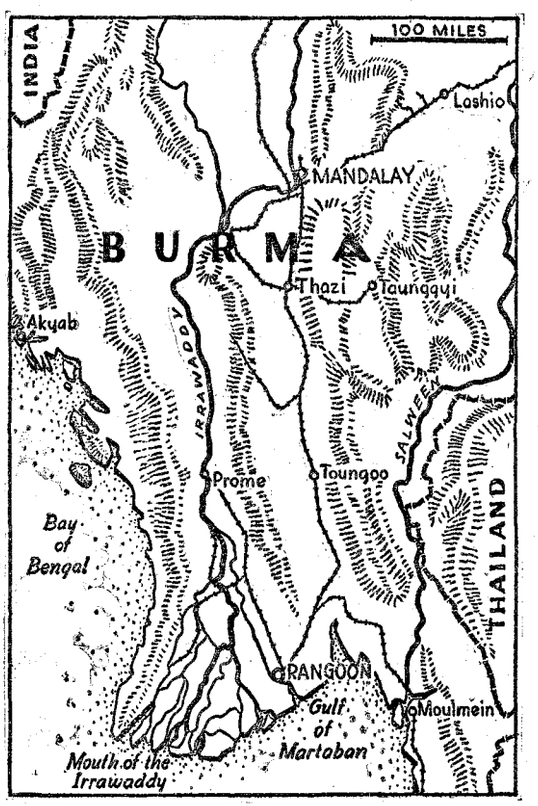
The news from the East indicates that the military methods of dealing with this type of fanaticism and the cave-and-tunnel defense it uses have not yet been satisfactorily worked out.

At Manila there is a crisis because in all those weeks since the capture of the city it has been impossible to get rid of a small group of Japanese controlling its water supply in the hills to the east. On Okinawa the second attempt to drive the enemy from the Naha area, made after long preparation, quite evidently achieved only a very limited success and the 27th Division got itself counter-attacked out of a town it had already taken.

The latter certainly should not have happened with our forces in complete control of the air and with practically unlimited artillery support available from ships offshore, for the strength of the Japanese positions is in the fact that they are underground and they have to come to the surface to counter-attack. Probably the trouble lies at least partly with the 27th Division itself, which was also caught in a surprise counter-attack on Saipan. But if the major problem of dealing with these defensive networks had been solved, there would have been no minor question about a counter-attack.



Campaign in Burma

Behind the screens of an unusually tight censorship and public indifference, Lord Mountbatten has fought in Burma this winter a campaign fully as successful as MacArthur's in the Philippines, and under conditions even more difficult. The successive parallel ridges must be crossed by all his supply lines, which come out of India, and the temper of the inhabitants has been uncertain at best; but he has regained more than half the country and is now well past Toungoo, racing the monsoon for Rangoon.

The Japanese have also brought out a new form of suicide plane in the rocket-driven *baka*. It is described as very inaccurate, but it is potentially the most dangerous weapon they have yet produced. The trouble with suicide planes is that they get shot down by fighters from the carriers. But no fighter is fast enough to do much with a rocket, as experience with V-2 showed, and the Japanese may get around to finding a means of controlling their *bakas*.

V-E Day Rumors

As we go to press with this issue of the *New Republic*, the air is full of rumors that V-E Day is just about to "break." There was enough substance in the report of Himmler's alleged surrender offer to make these rumors palatable. Apparently transmitted by the Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte, the surrender offer was addressed exclusively to Great Britain and the United States, perhaps the last indication of how little the Nazis, even in defeat, understand the psychology of other peoples. Both President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill made it clear beyond a doubt that only surrender to all three Allies is acceptable. Their emphatic statements in this respect lend a considerable degree of authority to the surrender rumors. But the important thing to remember is that an armistice in Europe does not necessarily mean peace there, and certainly not in the Far Eastern theatre of war. Nobody should begrudge our civilian population the pleasure of jubilation when fighting stops in Europe. It should not, however, raise our hopes for the early return of our soldiers. Nor should it lead to a letdown in our war effort at home. In spite of an official armistice, it may be necessary to clean up pockets of Nazi resisters. This may take many months. And the war in the Far East will need the greatest effort our soldiers and we at home can make.

Germany Is No Riddle

Now more than ever it is necessary to keep a clear vision with respect to what is happening politically in Germany. Contradictory reports on last-ditch resistance or its total absence, on differing attitudes among the population toward the victorious Allies and on revolutionary action, both from above and below, are certainly confusing. It is important, therefore, to go back to the fundamentals of fascism in order to understand what is happening. Fascism is rule by terror and propaganda. As long as its supporters stick together, as long as the terror apparatus is maintained intact and the propaganda machine continues to spread its poison, only military defeat can put an end to fascism. Reports from Berlin indicate that both terror and propaganda are doing their best to keep the Germans fighting. Fanatical SS and Gestapo men are terrorizing soldiers

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and civilians into prolonging the struggle. To this must be added the paralyzing fear of the Russians instilled in the Germans over a period of many years by the Goebbels propaganda mill. In southern Germany, on the other hand, anti-Nazi activities have contributed considerably to the advance of the Allied armies. In Regensburg, a dispatch reports, the welcome given to the Allies by the population was "one of the most enthusiastic in Germany thus far." The city of Augsburg surrendered after civilians had taken over. In Munich regular army units and civilians were battling Nazis and facilitating the capture of the city.

Beware of the Dogs

Among those of the German elite now leaving the sinking Nazi ship are some of the oldest fascist fellow travelers, if not actual Nazis. In Bavaria, it seems, General Ritter von Epp suddenly discovered his anti-Nazi heart and proclaimed himself leader of the "Bavarian Freedom Movement." In Salzburg some of Hitler's former close advisers were reported as having set up a new German anti-Nazi government. If these conspirators against their former Führer, men like Reichsbank president Walther Funk, Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and Reconstruction Minister Albert Speer, are liquidated by the Gestapo, it is all to the good. For they are the men whose only quarrel with Hitler is that he did not win—and once he lost it, did not stop—the war. They are the men who personally profited most from the Nazi regime. They are the men who will now try to extricate themselves in order to start it all over again. They are the men who would make the German Badoglios and Pétains. They all should rank high on the list of war criminals. Their last-minute maneuvers must not bamboozle us into believing that they are not guilty. Above all, we must strive to distinguish, more carefully than ever, between those Germans whose anti-Nazism, like that of those named, is sheer eyewash, and those whose anti-fascism is genuine. We must beware of dealing with any fake anti-Nazi government, however helpful it may be in overthrowing the Nazis.

The Tide in Italy

If there was ever any doubt as to how the Italians feel about the future, their farewell to Mussolini and his henchmen has clarified the matter. It was revolutionary justice, spontaneous justice, the justice that they had so long been deprived of, that brought an end to the Duce's career. The Partisans of Northern Italy took no chances with international war-crime and national purge commissions. Their part in the liberation of their country and their execution of all fascist big-shots without much ado suggest that they will not take a chance with the AMG or the Bonomi government. Power will increasingly shift to the Committees of National Liberation. Already in a number of cities these committees have assumed control, named mayors and confronted the AMG with the choice of either approving or inviting their hostility. Whether the revolutionary fervor and strength of the Committees of National Liberation can be whittled down by the Allies and the Bonomi government, as it was in France, remains to be seen.

Elections in France

Early returns in the French municipal elections, at least in metropolitan centers, seem to disprove previous dope stories of those foreign correspondents who predicted a small vote of the electorate and a swing to the Right. On the contrary, probably 80 percent of the voters cast their ballots, and the leftist parties—Communists, Socialists, Radicals and Christian Socialists—seem to be leading. In Paris and other cities the Communists took a commanding lead, but the Socialists and Radicals also ran well ahead of the center and rightist parties. All the prominent leaders of the resistance as well as many older non-collaborationist politicians seem to have gained offices in their respective municipalities. Although few returns from the traditionally more conservative rural areas are known as we go to press, a leftist trend in France, as far as national politics is concerned, seems to be confirmed. And while the municipal elections will not directly affect the policies of the de Gaulle government, they may well influence them in a less conservative direction.

Trade Agreements

Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee are losing all patience with the obvious filibustering tactics of their Republican colleagues, who are fighting renewal of the pressing Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act before its expiration on June 12. A full week of hearings was devoted to only five witnesses. Ninety-three more are waiting to be heard.

War Mobilizer Vinson, Secretary Wallace and Secretary Wickard have all pointed out to the committee that it is as important to future world security for us to assume the economic leadership inherent in the trade-agreements-tariff-reduction program as it is to assume political leadership of the San Francisco Conference. The responsible Republican leaders who have pledged their support to President Truman for international coöperation had better start cracking the party whip on House Republicans who are making a mockery of that pledge. Democrats in the Ways and Means Committee can move to restrict the questioning of witnesses to pertinent matters, or to conduct day-and-night sessions until all witnesses are heard and the bill is reported favorably to the full House. But it will be up to Senator Vandenberg and his supporters to keep at least one eye on Washington, and to see to it that Republican actions there speak as loudly as Republican words at San Francisco.

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The Voting Question

The acceptance by the San Francisco Conference of the Soviet Union's demand for three votes in the Assembly (one for the Ukraine and one for White Russia in addition to one for the nation as a whole) was probably necessary as a compromise and is in itself unimportant. It is, however, without logic in view of under or over-representation of other peoples, and might lead to an embarrassing struggle for voting power in the future, without guiding principles. There are only two such principles: Either every independent state should have one vote, or a system of representation should be established that would accord due weight to population and possibly to other factors.

This is obviously a subject that cannot easily be settled off-hand. If the proposal for a future constitutional convention is adopted, the whole issue of representation might well come before it. If it is not, the way will presumably be open for amendment on this as well as on other matters. In any case, we should like to see the appointment of a commission to study the subject, sift the various proposals and come back at some future time with a recommendation that is less like a horse-trade.

Russia Returns from Isolation

BEFORE the delegates assembled at San Francisco, the cynics were saying that the proposals for international organization were all cut and dried by the Big Three and that the task of the conference was simply that of a ratification meeting which might be performed between ten o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon. As soon as they met, however, and disagreements appeared, the cynics became discouraged by the lack of unity and began to fear failure. The truth is, as President Truman pointed out, that the conference is real, and is beginning to perform the inevitable task of any assembly of delegates in bringing differences to the surface and adjusting them.

A good deal of bewilderment is created, however, by the solitary course pursued by the Soviet government, which seems to be opposing on several issues not only the United States and Great Britain, but most of the smaller nations as well. Whether right or wrong—and we believe she is right in some respects and wrong in others—Russia's policy would appear to be dictated less by concern for the establishment of a just and workable world organization than by an insistence on acceptance of her own interests and point of view. Her demand for three votes, while accepted, is not particularly welcome to anyone else and may create an embarrassing precedent. Her continued championship of a seat for the Lublin government in spite of her expressed acceptance of the Yalta compromise looks more like trading for advantage than like a mark of international statesmanship. Even her stand for the exclusion of Argentina, for which there is good reason, seems to be a defensive position rather than an expression of principle.

This attitude should cause no surprise to anyone who has a sense of history. After the Bolshevik revolution the governments of the rest of the world turned against the present regime and sought to wipe it out by force and intrigue. The Communists in turn adopted a conspiratorial technique in their work for world revolution. With the defeat of Trotsky and the accession of Stalin, a damper was put on the efforts of the Communist International, and attention was concentrated on building socialism within the Soviet Union. Nevertheless the fear and suspicion of capitalist nations remained; the Communists never ceased to watch for threats from foreign armies or to hedge their regime about with barriers against corruption from outside.

During the period when Maxim Litvinov was Foreign Commissar this rigid isolation was somewhat relaxed. His policy, in the interest of protecting his country against aggression from Europe, was to work consistently through the League of Nations for genuine collective security and to try to win friends for the Soviet Union among the peoples of other lands, regardless of whether or not they accepted Marxist doctrine according to the gospel of Lenin and Stalin. Russia's frigid exterior began to melt, and for a time there seemed to be hope that the Soviet Union would be allowed to become, and would become, a full member of the family of nations.

But Litvinov's policy was rebuffed by the failure of the chief League members to live up to their pretensions. The sordid history of Ethiopia, Manchuria, Spain, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia finally convinced the rulers of Russia that the Western nations were more concerned to allow the growth of aggressive enemies of communism and of the Soviet regime than to protect themselves against future war. Russia therefore retired into her isolation with a vengeance by the war against Finland and the truce with Hitler. She knew she would have to fight for her own existence and proceeded to prepare to do so without consideration of possible—though at the time apparently unlikely—assistance.

The events of the war have brought her into coöperation and contact with the other anti-Axis powers. But she has had her fingers burned once and is unwilling to stake everything on the intelligence, resolution and good will of internationalism. Her approach is gingerly. Furthermore, she has lost the habit and manners of coöperation, except at the top and for strictly limited military purposes. Because of its overwhelming advantage to her, she is willing to give collective security another trial. It will take time and deeds, however, to renew any really close contacts between her and other peoples. In the meantime, she is employing

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her great strength to establish a position which will be as nearly invulnerable as possible if collective organization should fail again.

We do not for a moment believe that the Soviet Union will withdraw and give up this new rapprochement if she is thwarted on any single or relatively minor issue. She will watch and wait; she will estimate the longer trends. Her policy is not at the mercy of caprice. But the West and the Soviet Union will inevitably have to go through a long learning process if they are to speak the same language. The Russian representatives themselves have much to relearn about public opinion in countries where the winds of opinion are not closely controlled; they must at least play a slightly more subtle game than in the past few months if the immense store of good will which they have won by their magnificent resistance to Germany is not to be frittered away by a growing conviction that Russia is a nation which now speaks only in her own interest rather than a leader of the hope of all the peoples.

Atrocities and the Red Cross

AMERICAN indignation at German atrocities, raised to a new peak by newsreel presentation of Signal Corps films taken in the grisly Nazi charnel houses, has led Representative Emanuel Celler to press anew for passage of House Joint Resolution 93. This would establish a congressional "watchdog" committee to prod the United Nations War Crimes Commission into swifter and less secretive action.

Reasoning that the appalling conditions discovered at some war-prisoner barracks as well as more extensively in Germany's concentration camps must have been festering for some time, Mr. Celler has asked if the International Red Cross did not know long ago of these increasing crimes against Allied soldiers. And if it did know, did it tell the State Department?

The Red Cross reply is that it was fully aware that camp conditions were worsening during the last six months. As early as last September, the Germans, fearing war-prisoner outbreaks as Allied armies advanced and knowing food was essential for a successful prison break, arbitrarily cut the backlog of Red Cross parcels permitted at any one camp from a three months' supply to a one week's supply. Thus when Nazi transportation collapsed, there remained pitifully few of the Red Cross packages which had been the soldiers' main sustenance.

The Red Cross was never permitted to visit the real concentration camps for political offenders, where the worst horrors were perpetrated, but by grace of the Geneva Convention it did enter Allied prisoner camps —save where a commandant put off scrutiny by declaring his post unready for inspection "at the moment." The story of what was happening to Allied soldiers, including malnutrition and forced marches inland, was dutifully and regularly reported each month to the State Department.

Why this information, much of it forewarning, did not lead to an earlier manifesto by the Big Three leaders against mistreatment of Allied prisoners and nationals is not clear. Nor is it quite understandable why, at this late date, the public is still given no assurance that the war-crimes net will be sufficiently broad to catch such men as von Papen, Krupp and other non-Gestapo Nazis who unleashed and nourished the fascism which produced these crimes against civilization.

Austria Faces the Future

A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT has been set up in Austria. Headed by the old Social-Democratic leader, Karl Renner, one of the most distinguished figures in the European Socialist movement, it is a national unity coalition including Social Democrats, Communists and the left, anti-authoritarian wing of the Catholic Christian Socialist Party. Although set up under Soviet auspices, and apparently without consultation with the American or British governments, it cannot be called a Russian puppet. While Communists hold the important ministries of Interior and Education, the personnel of the other ministries suggests that the Russians have not imposed a group of yes-men on the Austrian people. Austrian political exiles in Great Britain and the United States have already expressed their approval of the new government.

Joyful citizens of Vienna have been celebrating their liberation from the Nazi yoke with public waltzes in the streets and squares of the Austrian capital. There was indeed much cause for rejoicing. Only a few days earlier frenzied German garrison troops had turned

Werner in the Chicago Sun

Do Not Disturb

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their guns on the starving but hostile civilian population as the battle roared around Vienna's gates. Mindful of the Moscow "Declaration on Austria" of 1943, that in the final settlement account would inevitably be taken of their own contribution to their country's liberation, the Austrians had taken, as thoroughly as circumstances permitted, their salvation into their own hands. In the months immediately prior to the advance of the Soviet armies, the Austrian resistance movement had become increasingly active in the provinces. Austrian Partisans, organized in their own battalions, fought with the Yugoslav Army of National Liberation against the Germans. Now, upon the freeing of their capital, the Austrians have been informed by the Moscow radio that they have "saved the honor of the Austrian nation" by assisting the Red Army.

But the liquidation of Nazism in Austria and promised independence from Germany will not automatically solve the numerous political and economic problems facing the Austrian people. Moreover, these problems are not just those of an immediate nature, such as the revival of democratic political institutions, minimum food production or the reconstruction of towns and villages destroyed by war. There are others, such as the balance between a highly industrialized, politically progressive capital and a rural, conservative hinterland, and Austria's political and economic relations with her neighbor states, problems which troubled the short-lived First Republic and which can readily reappear in the Second. Independence, therefore, can benefit the Austrian people only if the Second Republic is able to attain that political and economic security which the First lacked.

That Austria's long-range problems are essentially European was clearly recognized by the Moscow Declaration, which emphasized the similarity of the questions confronting Austria and her neighbors. Austrian independence, in the political sense, can mean only independence from Germany. It cannot, and must not, mean economic isolation either from the West, including Germany, or from the countries of Southeastern Europe and from Soviet Russia.

An economically healthy future for Austria depends largely on the integration of her economy into the economies of Central and Southeastern Europe. No such integration was achieved in the inter-war years because of the intense economic nationalism of that period. The result was particularly disastrous for Austria. Her economy, which under the Hapsburg monarchy had depended on the export market of Southeastern Europe, became stagnant. It was not accidental that the depression of 1929 was heralded by the collapse of the Vienna *Kreditanstalt*.

Economic integration of the Central and Southeastern European countries, advocated by some as a panacea for their problems, is, however, no guarantee of prosperity. Aside from the fact that Russia is opposed to any plan that might resemble a *cordon sanitaire*, it is important to remember that the area in question is not a homogeneous unit. In addition to political and cultural differences, there are considerable disparities in the economic and social structure. Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, for instance, have highly developed and diversified industries, while industries in the Southeastern agricultural countries could function only through a policy of protectionism. Even if an economic integration were perfected, further outlets for agricultural surpluses and importation of capital are needed.

One alternative, of course, which looms ever greater on the economic horizon of Central and Southeastern Europe, is the integration of that area under Soviet auspices and into the Russian economic sphere. The general economic policy now applied in the Soviet-liberated areas has been characterized as "revolution from above." It has been, perhaps not surprisingly, similar in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Poland. It has made much progress in the field of agrarian reform, leading to the breaking up of the large estates. While some socialization of industries has taken place, private property has been retained as a basic feature of the economy. One result of agrarian reform in the predominantly agricultural countries may well be an extension of consumers' purchasing power and hence a broadening of the Austrian export market.

While economic developments in Southeastern Europe will be of decisive importance for Austria, much depends on the structural character of the postwar Austrian economy itself. The resistance movement is on record as favoring socialization of all major industries, transportation and banks. If this program is not hampered by the occupying powers, and if sound economic foreign relations are established, Austria may well succeed in avoiding the difficulties of the inter-war years and look forward to a better, more independent future.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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San Francisco: Now or Never

HERE AMONG San Francisco's windy, fog-wreathed hills and handsome gray-white public architecture a new world is painfully struggling to be born. There are far too many midwives in attendance, a large proportion of whom are hoping, if the infant shows any signs of life, to strangle it in its cradle. Yet there is certainly a good fighting chance that they will be unsuccessful.

Never was a conference so over-reported as this one; and never did the over-reporters carry on their work amid such confusion, at least during the first few days. About 1,800 men and women representing the press, the radio and the newsreels swarmed in upon San Francisco to do the work which 150 could have done. The formula for the newspaper columnists and radio commentators was a simple one: If you address the public daily or weekly in any form, you can hardly in decency do so during the conference, or at least its first few weeks, with any dateline other than the Golden Gate. So here we are, whether we know about international affairs or not, whether we have anything to say or not, each pounding out his thousand words a day. Entire hotels have been taken over intact for the journalists; through a hundred transoms day and night pours the ceaseless clack of portable typewriters. Wives, husbands and secretaries are *verboten* at the press parties: it is mildly pathetic to see some journalistic big shot who at home lives surrounded by secretaries and dictating machines, painfully pecking out his own articles and letters (public stenographers are practically nonexistent) or even more painfully making up his own laundry list. Half the famous names of journalism have acquired lame backs from typing on hotel-room desks, all of them four inches too high.

The local press, as is always the case when great international gatherings are held in novice communities, has three strings to its bow: first, what a wonderful city San Francisco is; second, the foreign delegates wear clothes, just like everybody, but speak with a foreign accent; third, the whole thing is about to break up in a fight. Indeed, the break-up-in-a-fight motif is popular with a great many journalists from all parts of the world. Some of them, as suggested above, don't want the conference to succeed because they or the people behind them prefer the world as it is; but some of them just have a simple-minded belligerence which makes them look for "a good story" in terms of antagonisms among the delegates. If such antagonisms don't exist, they'll invent them, and sometimes—since the delegates also read the press—these inventions tend to turn into realities.

Why was San Francisco chosen for the first meeting of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, pronounced Un-see-o? Corridor gossip says Mr. Stettinius got the idea at Yalta when he heard a lonesome American soldier singing "Home on the Range" and then sold the plan to President Roosevelt with at least three arguments. First, the Golden Gate faces the Orient and would help to emphasize the global part of this war and the large section of it still unfinished when Germany crumples up. Second, nearly all the foreign delegates would have to travel the whole width of the United States and see for themselves that this is a big and strong country. Third, to the remaining considerable isolationist sentiment among Americans, whatever is achieved at San Francisco would not seem to be something foisted on them from hated New York or distrusted Washington. To Assistant Secretary Archibald MacLeish is credited the supplementary idea that the conference is being held on the shore of an ocean which is itself named after peace.

Whatever the validity of these arguments, a great many people wish the conference had been held somewhere else, including a lot of San Franciscans. If some big Midwestern university had been asked to send the students home a couple of weeks earlier and had then put the conference to bed in the dormitories, many hardships would have been avoided. San Francisco was one of the worst-crowded cities in the country even before four or five thousand conferees and conferees' hand-holders were dumped in. About a dozen big hotels have been taken over outright, and the guests, transient or permanent, told to go somewhere else when obviously there was no place else to go. A few rooms, however, are kept for members of the armed services on furlough. A typical corridor in any hotel consists of Walter Lippmann, William L. Shirer and eight Marines in two bedrooms. With no disrespect, one may point out that a certain proportion of the men in uniform want to raise a little hell on furlough; it is an odd sort of life we live here when the chief audible sounds day or night are clicking typewriters recording the chastest of lofty lucubrations, and wolf howls punctuated by the crash of breaking whiskey bottles in the courtyard.

The men at the top keep telling us that this is not *the* peace conference, that it is only to set up an international organization which will keep peace in the future. Everyone blandly ignores this qualification, including many of the delegates if you can catch one alone and in an unguarded moment. Certainly it is disregarded by the propagandists for causes good and

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bad, with whom the town is swarming. At the end of the first (calendar) week, no system had been set up for notifying the journalists when any delegation would hold a press conference; everybody missed some of them, and those conscientious souls (if any) who stay out of saloons very likely missed all of them, since the bar of the Palace Hotel was the chief and almost the only source of information. When it was announced that the head of a delegation would meet the press, there was a vast scurrying. Presently 200 or 500 reporters and cameramen would turn up in the ballroom of some big hotel and fire great volleys of questions at the delegates, many of them dealing remotely or not at all with the business which had brought us here. These questions the delegate would parry as best he could. Practically never does anybody say anything in a mass interview. Every experienced newspaperman knows this; and yet everybody always goes on the off-chance that the miracle may happen, although his sounder instinct tells him to curl up with a good copy of the Dumbarton Oaks Plan.

This conference misses President Roosevelt. Misses him deeply. Nearly everybody, Americans and foreigners alike, has a good word to say about President Truman; but nearly everybody would be happier if the old captain were still on the bridge. The first plenary session, in San Francisco's handsome Opera House, all red velvet drapes and clamshell-white stucco, was dominated by the absent man. Mr. Stettinius was magnificent—the movies' dream of typecasting for statesmanship—his big deep voice rang through the hall; President Truman's address by radio said the right things and was transmitted admirably; the Color Guard of seventeen members of the armed forces, eight of them girls, stood properly at attention—but there was no sense of greatness in the air; we were all a little lost and uncertain.

Indeed, through the whole first week we had an odd feeling that the conference was really taking place in Washington—or perhaps in Moscow—and that we were on its far outskirts.

Behind the froth of words, the foam of rumor, libel, triviality, what is there to say of the conference itself that is worth telegraphing across the continent? Perhaps a few points are worth putting down.

Will it succeed? Yes, in the sense that it almost certainly will not break up in disagreement and the delegates go home. The United Nations International Organization will come into being, however lamely, no matter through how many seas of compromise we must wade.

Will the small nations be satisfied with their treatment? On the whole, I should say yes. True, all real power still lies in the hands of the Big Three, which dominate the work in a military, industrial and financial sense. But the small nations knew that before they came here. Some of them will maximate their egos by offering amendments to Dumbarton Oaks; a few of the amendments may even be adopted; but essentially, control will go with power. Whatever else you may think of that arrangement, it is at least candid.

Who wants collective security, and how much? American policy is changing with Truman in the White House, but in so far as it is still moving with Roosevelt momentum, we want collective security very much indeed, and are prepared to pay a high price for it. The British want it less enthusiastically; they fear we shall walk out on them as we did 25 years ago; they want no nonsense about international trusteeship putting a shadow over Britain's claim to anything she has owned or owns now in any part of the world. The Russians want collective security only if, and as far as, it coincides with what they feel is Russia's interest. They know exactly what they want, in contradistinction to ourselves, and they won't budge from their final line. This may be quite different from the one with which they begin.

What does Russia want? A sideline person like myself believes that she is engaging in horsetrading on a global scale and that she is willing to concede some points for the sake of others on which she will never yield. Which are which, no one in San Francisco knows except the Russians themselves, and they are the best secret-keepers on earth. But in any case, three votes in the Assembly; the Polish issue; keeping Argentina out of the conference; doing something about Spain; free access to warm water through the Dardanelles or Iran or both; and the future of Manchuria and Korea—all these may be tied together more closely than appears on the surface. In those instances which have already come up, it is difficult to see why the Russians play with these imponderables. By giving in, for example, on the Polish issue, they have lost little. Their real power remains the same. Similarly, in insisting on additional votes for White Russia and the Ukraine, they have gained little. Nobody will believe that these additional two votes will in any way affect Russia's role in the future United Nations Assembly.

Shall we have permanent peace? Cynicism is easy here in San Francisco where we see the great powers scrambling for "trusteeships," planning to keep up big armies and navies, permitting no faintest infringement of precious sovereignty. But there are items on the other side of the ledger too. We have learned some things from the failure of the first League of Nations. There is a little more talk of economics as opposed to politics than there was 25 years ago. And finally, even the insulated diplomats know that this must certainly be the world's last chance for decades, if not for generations to come. It is hard to believe that we could stand another war which, in horror, would begin where this one leaves off. At San Francisco it is now or never.

San Francisco BRUCE BLIVEN

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Harry S. Truman: II

THE ONE universal impression made by President Truman's address to Congress, upon the men and women gathered in the Capitol, was of the total sincerity of the man who delivered it. Modesty, confidence and strength were evident, but most of all, sincerity. Since the entire range of subject matter fell within the international and domestic aims of President Roosevelt, no doubt was left about a continuity of purpose in the two administrations, however they might come to vary in the means, manner or fact of its attainment.

The members of Congress recognized this before President Truman was half through his address. It was evident in the shift from universal to selective, though still hearty, applause. The change came when the President spoke these words:

> Here in America we have labored long and hard to achieve a social order worthy of our great heritage. In our time tremendous progress has been made toward a really democratic way of life. Let me assure the forward-looking people of America that there will be no relaxation in our efforts to improve the lot of the common people.

The applause which greeted this statement was heavy, but the unrestrained fervor of universal acclaim was gone. Only three sentences were devoted in this specific fashion to domestic policies, yet they struck like lead upon those who either do not want the lot of the common people improved, or do not want the government to concern itself to that end. The general impress of sincerity made this statement stand out, despite its brevity, as a major declaration of policy.

Since President Truman is above all else a team worker, and is concerned now with winning the war and the peace, it is unlikely that his domestic policies will take early definite shape, except as they are revealed in various phases of international policy and in plans for demobilization and reconversion of industry from war to peace. There will be suggestions, also revealing, in major appointments to office.

For those who seek to judge President Truman's future by his past, the work of the Truman Committee of the Senate offers voluminous evidence. It was no accident that Senator Truman, early in 1941, moved to establish a special committee to investigate national defense. An avid student of the American Civil War, he learned that failures in organization and supplies were the scandal of every war. The aftermath of World War I convinced him that faults should be uncovered and corrected while the war was in progress. The blunders of the congressional committee which sought to take military direction of the Civil War away from the Commander-in-Chief was a warning that Congress should leave strategy alone and concentrate on an efficient supply system. That was the genesis of the Truman Committee, which forced practically every reform that was made in war production from 1941 onward.

The work of the Truman Committee combines the views and efforts of a group of men, including Senators, counsel and investigators. The opinions expressed in written reports originate with the committee, but the words are those of the paid staff. Nobody, therefore, should judge Mr. Truman by nuances of meaning in them. Furthermore, having the specific aim of winning a war, the committee and its chairman exhibited a ruthless severity toward faltering officials and self-seeking businessmen, such as would not necessarily be felt in time of peace. It is only in the discussion of postwar matters that blunt speech has sure peacetime significance.

Members of the Truman Committee give its chairman credit for the fact that every report it made to Congress was unanimous, though it included four Republicans and never lacked at least one conservative Democrat. Pressure for victory in war helped to bring about that unanimity.

If the chairman's personal responsibility for policies was lessened by his regard for team spirit in formulating reports, it was increased in other ways. His influence was paramount in deciding what should be investigated. He appointed the subcommittees whose probing zeal would shape the record, and chose them to get results. He handled the big, unwilling guys who had been telling war-production officials where to get off. It is of unwritten record that one powerful and confident gentleman, holding war contracts running into hundreds of millions, went into Truman's office to advise him to "call off his dogs" (those were the exact words he used beforehand) and came out with his metaphorical trouser legs hanging in shreds. The conversation had consisted chiefly of several repetitions—the answer being here condensed—of the following dialogue:

"Are the charges true or false?"

"Well, you see—"

Because Senators Connally and Hatch were chairmen of other committees and Senator Mead also felt the pressure of other duties, the heavy work on the Democratic side fell upon Chairman Truman and Senators Wallgren and Kilgore, both of them outstanding liberals. This sharpened the work of the subcommittees, especially in steel, shipping and manpower, headed by Kilgore, and light metals and aviation, under Wallgren. When the question of cotton or rayon for automobile tires came up for inquiry, Chairman

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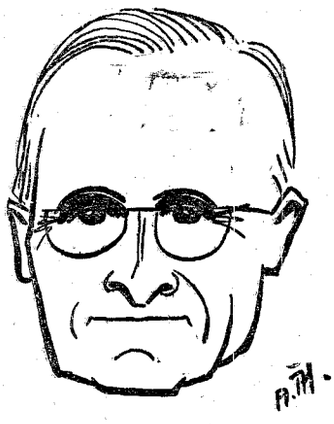
Truman, from a cotton-growing state, appointed Senator Kilgore, from a rayon-producing state, to take charge of it, and overruled his objections on that score. Whether this has any bearing on President Truman's future attitude toward the St. Lawrence waterway agreement, to which Missouri and states southward are opposed, is anybody's guess.

Being a special committee, the Truman group was not allowed to submit bills to Congress. However, Senators Truman, Wallgren and Kilgore were all members of the Military Affairs Committee. They teamed up there with Senator Murray and translated much of the work of the Truman Committee into legislative proposals and enactactments. Senator Truman was one of the introducers of the Kilgore reconversion bill. He and Senator Murray formed the Military Affairs subcommittee which reported it for passage. The War Mobilization Act, leading to the Byrnes appointment, likewise came from this Truman Committee group acting through the Military Affairs Committee.



At President Truman's first press conference, a good laugh was had all around when somebody asked him if he approved the work of the Truman Committee. If, as his answer indicated, he does, let us note what this implies. He must believe:

That the failure of the old Office of Production Management was due not to lack of power, but to the ineptness of the big businessmen managing it.

That use of dollar-a-year men puts war production into the hands of persons with axes to grind and too large a stake in the defense program.

That Jesse Jones signed an aluminum expansion contract with Alcoa which was contrary to good principle, and that, to save $20 million, he cut down synthetic-rubber capacity by 90,000 tons a year at the outset of the development program.

That the proper way to convince the motor industry that it could produce airplanes was to deny it the raw materials with which to produce passenger automobiles.

That it was a mistake to concentrate war contracts in big companies.

That exorbitant profits in war contracts should be reduced by renegotiation.

That the navy allowed excessive fees and bonuses to private shipbuilders.

That inflation, whether of wages or prices, should be controlled with firm determination.

That a manpower draft, dubious at best, should not be used as an anti-strike measure.

That wartime strikes must be eliminated, but receive too much attention in the press; that many were inspired by noting the high profits in war contracts.

That no citizen (meaning John L. Lewis) "has the right to jeopardize the nation's existence in wartime."

That labor, in relinquishing the right to strike, has laid aside its chief weapon, but critics of labor have given up less than they ask labor to give up.

That reconversion must be planned as far in advance as possible, chiefly to remove obstacles to a free choice by businessmen of their own peacetime activities.

That wartime controls should be taken off as fast as possible after the war, lest they form the basis of a self-perpetuating peacetime regimentation of business.

That the country will flourish best when least hampered by government control, but with policing to prevent frauds and business excesses such as those of the 1920's.

That no speculative profit should be allowed in the resale of surplus war goods to the public.

That cartel arrangements, such as those between Standard Oil and I. G. Farben of Germany, are "harmful in peacetime, but disastrous in time of war."

That little business, having suffered from the war while big business was profiting, deserves a break in reconversion.

That operators of government-owned plants should not receive them as gifts, either by buying them out of excessive profits or at a small fraction of their real value.

That prewar industry should not be protected from competition with government-built plants which are sold at a fair price.

That government-built plants should be disposed of to prevent monopoly, ensure competition and increase total production.

That the central thought in disposing of these plants should be to attain a total production which will prevent a return to the 1939 level of nine millions unemployed.

That postwar depression can be avoided, returning soldiers and war workers saved from unemployment ("we are determined" that they shall be) and a higher than prewar standard of living reached, "if, and only if, we are equal to the tasks that confront us."

This is a remarkable list of beliefs to be held by a President who is counted on by monopolists, stock-market gamblers and anti-labor forces to lead the country back to a Harding-Coolidge-Mellon period of "normalcy," when looting can be done in quiet and union-busting in comfort. Three things stand out about it in relation to postwar America:

1. A number of the "Roosevelt policies" most hated or feared by the National Association of Manufac-

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turers seem to have originated in the Truman Committee, or to have received the strongest advocacy there.

2. The striving is all toward a system of free enterprise, with freedom from private monopoly stressed, and not a hint of socialism from beginning to end.

3. While lasting government controls are condemned, except to lay down fair rules of business conduct, the emphasis upon full employment suggests ultimate government responsibility for it.

In appointing banker John S. Snyder of St. Louis, late of the RFC, as Federal Loan Administrator, President Truman has indicated his adherence to a number of the opinions listed above. The criticism of the Alcoa contract, the principles laid down for disposal of government war plants to prevent monopoly, the emphasis on competition, all resulted from Truman Committee investigations of the RFC. These revealed Jesse Jones on one side—the side of monopoly—and his assistants, Snyder and Clifford J. Durr, on the other.

In the Truman Committee's comment on Standard Oil and I. G. Farben and in its attitude toward monopoly in aluminum one can find a reasonably sure indication of the future policies of the Department of Justice. Whether Attorney General Biddle remains in the cabinet is a personal matter between the President and himself, but it does not look as if he would be put out for the purpose of having the anti-trust division torn to pieces, which is the only objective of most of those who are hoping for his removal.

On his senatorial record, the new President can safely be called a "Brandeis liberal"—an opponent of domestic monopolies and international cartels, a believer in competition under rules of fairness. He wants to make free enterprise work. Also, he knows what this requires in the relationship of prices and profits to sustained buying power. He would preserve our capitalist economy by putting into effect—and how the NAM will fight it!—the principle laid down as follows in the third annual report of the Truman Committee (italics mine):

> If we are to maintain the highest standards of living in the world, which we had prior to the war, and if we are to improve those standards, vastly increased quantities of basic commodities must be produced. The task of industry will be to produce those commodities and fabricate them into consumer goods at a fair profit based on a small margin and large volume of production. *So long as prices do not exceed costs by too great a margin, the purchasing power of the workers through the wages paid for production should be sufficient to preclude overproduction.*

The grim joker in this is that anything which the average businessman considers a fair profit will cause prices to exceed costs by such a margin that purchasing power will not absorb consumer goods. That leads to the old familiar sequence of overproduction, huge inventories and a downward spiral of business.

President Truman's reliance upon low prices and a narrow profit margin as a constant stimulus to production sets him apart from the "spend-for-recovery" methods of the Roosevelt New Deal. This is consistent with the emphasis he placed upon debt avoidance, when he was handling the government of Jackson County, Missouri. But preferences do not always count. It is a fact not generally known that President Roosevelt disliked "spending for recovery" and was forced into it against his will. In the spring of 1938 Representative Maury Maverick led 21 congressional progressives to the White House to urge the President to sponsor a big public-works program to nip the business recession then in progress. I chanced to be the next person in Mr. Roosevelt's office, and his opening remark was: "These boys have good intentions, but they don't know the first thing about government finance." Three months later, with business spiraling downward, the public-works program was on its way.

Unless President Truman and Congress can induce or compel American business to drop its price-fixing devices, the government will be forced to a system of compensatory spending as surely as it was in the great depression. Mr. Truman has said nothing about that, but anybody who can state the relationship of wages, prices and profits to overproduction, as clearly as they are stated in the third Truman report, must know the rest of it. This is a fairly sure indication too that, although anxious to end wartime controls, he will seek to hold the line against inflation during reconversion. Compromise with price-fixers is inevitable, and requires a planned alternative, of which there is no sign.

Disliking monopoly and privilege, how does President Truman feel toward the underprivileged, the victims of racial discrimination and others? He has voted twice for cloture on the anti-poll-tax bill, but protested vigorously to its backers against bringing it up when defeat by filibuster was certain. He is fully committed to a permanent FEPC—with teeth. His 12-year voting record in the Senate shows virtually 100-percent support of progressive legislation. His campaign speeches in that direction carry a note of conviction.

There is a suggestion of something basic and enduring in a Fourth of July speech Harry Truman delivered at Macon, Missouri, in 1934. In homespun terms, it seems to anticipate the "four freedoms." Referring to the American Revolution, he said:

> We achieved political freedom in that war, fought with shot and shell. We will achieve social and economic freedom in the present effort, fought with the best available weapon, thought. . . . We are in the midst of the greatest evolution mankind has known. We are trying to reach the stage of pure freedom; a plane upon which the greeds and lusts of men shall not be allowed to interfere with the rights of others to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We want everyone to have the power to make a living adequate to his ability, with a common assumption that it is a right and not a privilege.

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That is no foreign "ism," unless Middle Western equalitarianism has become un-American. But, if still held to, what a task it poses in the face of present greeds and lusts, entrenched by this war!

Had President Roosevelt lived out his full term, the renewal of American liberalism would have depended to a probably decisive extent on vocal prophets like Henry Wallace. So it may, in the future. But considering the immediate tasks to be done, and the imperative necessity for coöperation between the White House and the Capitol, there is reason to feel that a President entering the White House without a popular mandate has need of the particular qualities which are so marked in Mr. Truman. On the combined tests of liberalism, sound foreign policy, economic understanding, forcefulness, mental alertness, age, influence with Congress, and physical stamina, I would rather see Harry Truman in the presidency at this moment than any one of the 96 Senators. And there are a lot of good men in that body.

These articles have omitted any discussion of President Truman's foreign policies because he has stated them so fully. One question, however, is being asked by many Americans. Can the new President stand up to European "big shots" as well as Mr. Roosevelt did? The answer to that is easy. He stood up to Mr. Roosevelt—first in the work of the Truman Committee, then in telling him what was wrong in his relations with Congress. His statement on the latter subject gives the cue to his own policies. "Mr. President," he said, "the White House and Capitol are not connected by a one-way street."

IRVING BRANT

This is the second of two articles on President Truman. -- THE EDITORS

Shall German Labor Rebuild Europe?

THE DEVASTATION wrought by the Germans in the course of the Second World War exceeds by many times the ravages of the First. The demolition of entire cities and villages by aerial and land bombardment; the destruction of dwellings, schools, hospitals, factories, mines, dams and bridges; the exportation of reserves of goods and machines; the seizure and removal of locomotives, cars, ships and cattle; the plunder of theatres, museums, art galleries, libraries, scientific institutions; the losses resulting from the extermination of millions of soldiers and civilians —all these resist evaluation in terms of figures. The depopulated countries will feel these wounds most painfully for generations to come. Under those circumstances, elementary justice naturally demands that those guilty of the war and destruction be forced to repair the damage they have wrought.

Under the Versailles Treaty, heated disputes were caused not so much by the size of the reparations as by the question whether Germany should pay in cash or in kind. The German government argued that it was unable to pay in cash and offered payments in goods and labor. But England and France, supported by their labor organizations, feared for their own exports, dreaded an increase of unemployment in their own countries, and therefore demanded that the bulk of the reparations be paid in money, based on gold. "The Boche must pay in cash," said the French. "I have enough trouble with three million unemployed," argued Lloyd George. And the "far-seeing realists" fixed the sums and dates of German payments for 66 years in advance.

Life itself drew the score. The only part of the German reparations that proved to have any reality were the payments in kind, delivered during the first years after the war. The cash payments came down to little more than a fiction. Economists are still arguing the question of who, in the final analysis, paid at least part of the reparations: Germany, or her creditors for her. Under conditions of general world crisis Germany was unable to pay the reparations in gold because she did not have sufficient exports. The economic collapse within Germany merely deepened the world crisis. Inflation disorganized first the German economy, and then the economy of the entire world. The various plans to restore the German economy (Dawes, Young, Hoover) all came down to supplying Germany with many billion dollars' worth of credits. Reparations payments had in effect ceased as early as 1929, and in 1933 fascism was victorious in Germany, and preparations began for the present war.

Past experience must be considered today. The Soviet Union's demand at the Crimea Conference that a method be established which would ensure the direct application of the reparations payments to the work of reconstruction and make impossible their reduction to a fiction by exchange or other economic manipulations, was accepted both by the United States and Britain. The conference adopted a decision in favor of payments in kind.

But the interests of the deciding powers in the matter of reparations are not identical. The United States and Britain are concerned mainly about the postwar perspectives of their industry and trade; they are therefore inclined to favor the radical destruction of the entire German economy and are apprehensive about reparations in kind. France is anxious that the industries of the Saar and the Ruhr be spared, since

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she hopes to occupy these regions for many years to come. But the USSR, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, Belgium and the Balkan nations, which had suffered the maximum destruction, are vitally interested in receiving reparations in kind. Shortages of metal, coal, machines, technical personnel and manpower will slow up the rate of reconstruction, and the reconstruction itself will place a heavy burden upon several generations.

Reparations in kind can be paid in a great variety of forms. Belgium and Czecho-Slovakia, for instance, demand the return of all the factories removed by the Germans. The Balkan countries and Poland will also need industrial and farm machinery, construction materials, chemicals and food. The Soviet Union will probably demand from Germany primarily factory equipment, construction materials, locomotives and ships, but it will also want finished products necessary for the restoration of housing, as well as clothing and food for its population. These countries, with the Soviet Union in the lead, are therefore vitally interested in the demilitarization of Germany, but not in her de-industrialization. They want to force German industry, in the immediate postwar years, to work primarily for the reconstruction of devastated Europe.

The vast destruction of the present war was accompanied, as never before, by the deliberate eradication of the labor and cultural forces of the countries conquered by the Germans, who systematically exterminated their workers, engineers, teachers, doctors and scientists. The tasks of reconstruction will demand millions of engineers and workers for the rebuilding of cities, factories, dams, for pumping out flooded mines, restoring canals, etc. Where are these to come from? Hence the idea of partial reparations in labor, of the use of German hands for the rebuilding of what has been destroyed.

In principle, the Crimea Conference accepted the idea of reparations in kind as proposed by the Soviet Union, but the final decision as to the forms of these reparations was entrusted to a special commission. Of course, it is still impossible to estimate exactly in what measure this plan for reparations in labor will be realized, for no one knows to what extent the postwar economy will be burdened with internal unemployment. Neither does anyone know as yet what form of reparations labor will take. However, on the basis of statements by persons in positions of authority, it may be assumed that a system is under consideration that would require Germany, which will be deprived of the right to have a standing army, to conduct a compulsory annual mobilization of certain classes of its population for a definite period, thus creating labor contingents to fulfill the demands of the reparations commission for manpower to do reconstruction work.

Some of the delegates to the recent London Trade Union Conference voiced the fear that the labor conditions of these German workers may interfere with the social interests not only of German workers, but also of those of the United Nations, and that compulsory German labor may tend to lower the wages and worsen the working conditions of labor in the countries in which it will be applied. As a result of this apprehension, the conference unanimously adopted a decision urging that the wages and conditions of labor of the German workers be placed under the control of an international trade-union commission.

The plan for labor reparations has aroused holy indignation in some journalistic circles. These predict that the decisions of the Crimea Conference threaten the foundations of freedom and condemn all Europe to conditions of slave labor. In the New York *Volkszeitung* of March 10, for instance, the well known Social Democrat, Friedrich Stampfer, writes about the "return to barbarism," about the legalization of "slave-labor," forgetting that in 1918-20 his party comrades had themselves insisted on reparations in labor.

Words should not intimidate us. Compulsory labor is not always slave labor; neither is it, of course, the free labor of peacetime. Compulsory labor becomes slave labor only when it is used in the interest of enriching private individuals and groups. But compulsory labor at critical moments in the life of a nation, used in the interests of society, is not slavery.

It is true, of course, that the use of compulsory labor poses the problem of the social order in all its sharpness. From this point of view, in the USSR, where there is no private profit and where all labor is performed in the service of society, and which more than other nations needs the aid of German labor, the compulsory labor of both the Soviet citizens and the German workers will be most efficient.

The entire character of the Soviet social order, the attitude of the Soviet population toward labor and skill and, finally, the political and social role of the Soviet Union in postwar Europe, lead us to think that the German workers rendering labor duty as part of Germany's reparations, will receive the same wages, housing accommodations and food as the Soviet citizens. They will serve under conditions that will undoubtedly be hard, but that will improve with the general improvement of the country's economy.

The question here is not of revenge. If the conditions of reparations labor are to be raised to the level enjoyed by the German worker before the war, it must be done not by perpetuating his right, as a representative of a "higher race," to eat and dress better than the workers of the countries ruined by Germany, but only by raising the living standards of the workers of all countries and all races to the highest possible level. Only thus may higher social justice be achieved, and this great problem of social transformation will inescapably confront the entire postwar world.

A. YUGOW

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Lowdown on Meat

A QUICK INVESTIGATION of the meat situation discloses a hazy and un-pretty picture of democracy at its worst. An almost insane civilian-front merry-go-round is being staged by meat-packers, a few congressmen and a lot of misguided people, whose efforts, unwittingly I hope, are aimed toward smashing price control and sending us into a disastrous boom-and-collapse similar to those we suffered after the last war.

We have been running a global war for four years on a basis of providing both guns and meat for civilians as well as soldiers. Our fighting men get their take first. Abroad, our fighting men get 5¼ pounds a week on the average; in this country they get 5 6/10 pounds. All to the good. They need it.

Meat is feed converted into animals. At war's outset we had a large reservoir of feed, and crops continued good. We used the feed we produced, and ate into the feed reservoir, to expand livestock population to record highs. A year and a half ago, feed supplies began to run low, and the government asked farmers to cut down hog breeding by 16 percent. In 1944, farmers cut hog breeding by 30 percent, overdoing the reduction. Last fall's kill of hogs was way down. That's why pork supply is so short now. Beef is a different story. We have a record high of 80 million cattle. But about half of these are dairy cows, whose increase is responsible for our healthy wartime advance in whole-milk consumption and dairy products for our armed forces and allies. And you don't butcher dairy cows until their milk-producing days are over.

United States meat production in 1944 was 53 percent above the prewar 1935-39 average. The pork reduction cuts down the 1945 meat supply, but over-all production this year actually will be 38 percent above prewar levels. Not too bad. Farmers can be proud.

The 1945 forecast is that the armed services and other government agencies, including Lend-Lease, will take 5,490 pounds of meat. This is a smaller total than in 1943 or 1944. It will amount to about one pound of meat out of every four produced this year.

In this country we eat three kinds of meat. Farm slaughter is the pig or steer you kill on the farm and hang up in the smokehouse or modern storage compartment, and eat yourself, or sell to neighbors. Before the war the farm kill was 13 percent of the total. Non-federally inspected packing houses in prewar days killed 21 percent of the meat, and marketed it within their own community or state. There are many thousands of these "small" businesses. Federally inspected plants, mostly the big packers, killed 66 percent of our prewar meat. Under federal law, enacted for health protection, their product is the only meat which can be shipped in interstate commerce. It is also the only meat which the army and the navy will buy.

The war hit our economy and several things happened. The army and other war uses are taking 35 percent of our federally inspected meat, this year and last. Vast war-production plants are operating in non-meat-producing states. Civilian purchasing power increased considerably, raising the demand for meat. The amount of meat channeled into federally inspected plants is decreasing this year, as the farm slaughterers and non-federally inspected plants increase their total intake at points nearer the source. In March, federally inspected plants got only 50 percent of all our meat.

The net result is that the Eastern Seaboard, especially the big cities and war-production centers, are running short of their fair share of the available meat supply. In the Middle West and in other meat-producing states there is enough to satisfy most demands.

The black marketeer enters the scene at this point. Sometimes he is a villain, a gangster, easily recognized because he operates with counterfeit coupons and other racketeer stigmata. Most of the time, however, he is a fellow who would identify himself as an honest and patriotic citizen, probably with a son or two in Germany or Okinawa. He is your grocer . . . your farmer . . . or the head of your local meat-packing firm. "He" may even be your wife or your maid. His distinguishing characteristic is that he pays above established ceiling prices, or buys meat without giving red points, or both, and usually "he" doesn't have any twinges of conscience.

Obviously if everyone were honest about his red points, and if all meat were federally inspected, everybody in this country would get his fair share of the short supply now available for civilians. Last year the meat consumed by civilians averaged 147 pounds per person. That was a record high compared with the 126 pounds per person consumed in each of the five prewar years. Now, on the basis of the current allocations for civilian consumption, meat for civilians is available at an annual rate of about 115 pounds each. But because of the distortion of distribution, it is obvious that most people on the Eastern Seaboard, unless they spend a lot of money in the black market, will get nearer 60 or 80 pounds, while people in the meat-producing states will get more than the national average.

The extent of the black market has not been and cannot be measured accurately. Estimates that black marketeers handled 90 percent of the meat in certain Eastern cities are obviously irresponsible. It is difficult to believe that nine out of ten of our merchants and housewives are so blind to the perils to our economy involved in this sabotage of our stable price level.

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Re-educating the Americans

The greatest menace to world peace does not spring from the beaten Nazis licking poison from their wounds. It springs from the congealed prejudices of the benighted sections of the USA, the Devil's Fifth Column, the fat-witted gentlemen who seek applause by repeating the idiotic formula, "the New Deal is a Jew deal," the weatherbeaten dowagers over the bridge table inveighing against the un-Americanism of the spirit of the times that makes servants feel their oats, the captains of industry, so unsure of the job they are doing—mostly a good job—that they are scared to death because Russia is trying to do the same job in another way—and probably not so good a way.

Such as these with their long sensitive ears are the hopes and the resource of Goebbels and the super-Goebbelses who voice the hopes of the surviving Nazis, shattered and underground. Can we educate them out of their folly?

The United States is now the most powerful nation under the sun. By far the most powerful. If we citizens of the USA can disembarrass ourselves of the curse of ignorance and learn to work together, irrespective of class, of race or creed or color or national origin, we can give the world an example of civilization, of richness of life, of widely diffused happiness such as never was before. Moreover, we shall present a front of such power that no people will dare to think of war as "an instrument of policy" without the consent of the USA, a consent, so help us God, we will never give. – *Alvin Johnson, writing in the* Bulletin *of the New School for Social Research, New York City.*

The very statement of the problem indicates its solution. The meat supply should be restored to normal channels as far as possible. The intake and output of federally inspected plants should be expanded to take care of increased war demands, and to provide adequate food for non-meat-producing states. One of James Byrnes's last acts before he resigned April 1 was to direct the Office of Price Administration to formulate and carry out such a program, which necessarily would reduce the kill of local slaughter houses (many of them recent mushroom developments), and also induce farmers to sell their stock on the hoof and into federally inspected plants as much as possible. Such a program obviously depends upon the maintenance of stable prices and observance of rationing.

The real villain of our piece enters at this late stage. He is the fellow who wants more profits. His chief Washington spokesman is the lobbyist for the so-called independent meat packers. This makes his identity obvious.

His argument is simple and easily defined. By federal action to increase prices paid to packers and other processors, meat will automatically flow from the farms in a steady stream. So they say. This, of course, ignores the whole structure of our meat-producing and distributing system, the impact of war and the threat of unstabilizing our economy. The rest of the argument has been in the headlines for weeks. It is that the OPA has botched the job by being too strict on prices, and that the black market has not been controlled because the OPA was too lenient on violators.

This profiteer proposal has been formally presented to Congress by Senator McKellar of Tennessee, in an amendment to the bill extending the Price Stabilization Act, which would force the OPA to set prices guaranteeing to processors of farm products prices that would cover all costs "plus a reasonable profit." This guarantee would extend separately to each item produced—and amount to a complete governmental guarantee of profits.

The packers' program would be financed in either of two ways: by passing on the price increase to consumers, or by adding perhaps $100 million to present generous subsidy payments. Either way it would be a steal by war profiteers; either way it would not remedy the current maldistribution of our meat supplies. It appears now that the government is being forced to include at least a part of this increased subsidy in its new meat-redistribution program as a compromise with the lobbyists.

If the packers' effort is wholly successful, a serious breach will be opened in the relatively stable wartime price structure. And pressure groups will have demonstrated once again that the people's interest can be subverted by ruthless lobbyists, operating with the support of many congressmen, sensation-seeking newspapers and a large group of radio commentators, editorial writers and reactionary politicians.

Washington POTOMACUS

Southern Youth Points the Way

In the village of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, students from colleges and universities in the 13 Southern states met recently for a twofold purpose: To form the Conference of Southern Students to "actively defend the ideals of human justice, freedom and democratic action"; and to articulate immediately a student desire for world peace by sending representatives to San Francisco and by affirming faith in Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks.

In crystallizing these goals, two other consequences of startling import occurred: The initiative in forming a regional youth organization concerned with social and political problems came not from the North or the West, but from the educationally backward South: a predominantly white, representative Southern group elected a Negro president.

Students at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill got the idea for the conference on

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April 7, when, after hearing Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas speak on peace, someone posed the question: "Why don't we *do* something about it?" Other students agreed, and pretty soon a small, intense nucleus, aided by faculty advisers, was formulating plans for a Southern conference. Selection of participants, they acknowledge, was arbitrary—it had to be because of funds, time and ODT limitations; but all 13 state universities were included, and other schools were chosen primarily according to size, without regard to denomination or color. In each case the president was asked to send one official delegate.

Throughout the week the students worked furiously, making local arrangements for an inter-racial meeting; getting financial assistance from the Carnegie Foundation; receiving a pat on the back from John Ferguson of the State Department. On Saturday the delegates began to arrive. From as far as a thousand miles away they came—49 young men and women to attend the one-day conference. They came from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas.

The official delegates, supplemented by a large gallery, gathered for a morning session. Following it, a resolutions committee drew up these measures, later passed:

Endorsement of the Bretton Woods proposals and promise to exert pressure as a group and individually to obtain United States ratification.

Endorsement of Dumbarton Oaks with specific changes suggested.

Recommendation that an international "Bill of Rights" be formulated at San Francisco, to assure the rights of all people regardless of color, race or creed, and the right of petition.

The conference also telegraphed the House Committee on Banking and Currency, voicing its opinion that the committee could not intelligently be a stumbling block to the Bretton Woods proposals, which are necessary to the stabilization of world economy.

When the time came to elect officers, the spontaneity that characterized the whole conference prevailed. Candidates were nominated from the floor. Charles D. Proctor of Fisk University, who had displayed outstanding leadership during the morning, was elected president "purely on the basis of ability"; and Douglass Hunt of the University of North Carolina was chosen secretary-treasurer.

Proctor is a slender young man of 22, originally from St. Louis, now a teaching assistant in the Fiske Chemistry Department. He hopes to become a research chemist in chemo-therapy. He is well on his way, for in 1943 he discovered sulfaduratextrin, a flame-proofing mixture used to process uniforms for the armed services. His contribution to life and safety was recognized by a citation from the army.

Officers chosen, the student assembly turned to selecting delegates for the World Security Conference. Douglass Hunt and Sergeant Maurice Clifford, an ASTP medical student at Meharry College in Nashville, were elected. If they achieve official status, for which application has been made, they can attend open meetings and have access to news wires. Their duties are to observe and report to newspapers of Southern Conference member colleges, so that students will get first-hand accounts of world-conference proceedings. Their expenses at San Francisco will be paid by the 49 colleges, each raising a $50 minimum.

The implications of the conference are great. There is probably no similar youth group in the nation. There are academic, semi-official and proselytizing groups; but the Conference of Southern Students leads the way as a democratic clearing-house for ideas and a pragmatic, potentially forceful organ. It will grow within the region, and probably later will turn to regional problems. It may expand, embrace other sections of the country, and eventually become a national movement. Its possibilities are exciting.

Meanwhile in the initial meeting for peace, called because of the imminence of San Francisco, and in the concurrent if incidental laboratory on race relations, these sons and daughters of the South have learned over a week-end what Lewis Mumford meant when he said: "If free peoples must be prepared to give up their lives in defense of civilization, they should be somewhat more prepared to give up their prejudices."

Charlie Proctor must have wondered a bit though, as he boarded the bus and passed empty seats in the front, to sit in the back because in North Carolina Jim Crow law requires that "Negro Passengers Seat from the Rear."

CAROLYN LEHMAN GOLDBERG

Render Unto Caesar

One side of the coin has a vicious monarch's face—
The image and superscription written plain—
Evil and tyrannous. The other side
Has a crown of laurel, and stars, and a field of sky.

Nobody, taking the coin from purse or pocket,
Holding its weight in the hollow of the hand,
Ever wonders which side is the more important,
Which is the one that makes it legal tender?
The only question he asks is very simple:
What will the money buy?

Hard and durable metal. Centuries after
Its empire crumbles, the disk and the imprint keep
Their mark, their shape, under the ash and rubble,
Under the loam, unearthed some day, and studied,
Rubbed bright again, the tyrant and the laurel,
Placed under glass in an up-to-date museum,
Current no longer, coin of the realm no more,
Purchasing power lost, but the value greater,
Greater than any it ever had before.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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Washington Notes

Spotlight on Truman

EVENTS are moving too fast for Harry Truman. He would like to postpone his course. He can't. He would like to have the spotlights play exclusively on San Francisco. They turn back on him. He must do two things at once: Keep his predecessor's plans going and learn his job. It's not easy.

Take two instances: Mr. Truman will reappoint TVA Chairman David Lilienthal (whose term expires May 18) simply because it would shock decent people if he didn't. Lilienthal represents efficient, nonpartisan administration of a vast public investment. But Mr. Truman has given a courtesy-seat in his cabinet to Kenneth McKellar, 76, implacable foe of Lilienthal and powerful in the Senate, where he holds purse-strings as acting chairman of the Appropriations Committee. (Actual chairman is bed-ridden Carter Glass who remains Senator though he will not return to the Senate.) McKellar believes in, and defends, the spoils system. As between the two Mr. Truman has only one choice and will doubtless make it. But choices, such as this represents, mean an attrition of initial good will. They can't be helped, must be made, and there are thousands of them. With each one, the caliber of the Truman Administration becomes clearer.

Take a second point. The country faces "creeping inflation." Even the American Bankers' Association is alarmed by, and is warning against farm-land speculation, with prices in some states now equal to those of the disastrous 1920 boom. Truman could take bold, energetic steps to "hold the line" and keep inflation curbed. Marriner Eccles, head of the Federal Reserve System, was advocating a drastic new capital-gains tax before Roosevelt died. That is only one instance. But inflation curbs are praise-worthy in principle, obnoxious in practice, to congressmen. The easy course for Truman, here and in kindred problems, might be to temporize. He has some excuse. Secretary Morgenthau's relations with Roosevelt were probably on a more personal basis than those of any other cabinet member. Truman probably is now debating whether to pick a new Treasury head; he might argue that nothing should be done till one is picked. Like all President Truman's tasks at this juncture, this is a double one. But if he does nothing for too long, that also is action. It may be a very violent one.

Mr. Truman's problems are also international. Russia threatens to go isolationist, very much as the United States did 25 years ago. It is a delicate, devious business, trying to coöperate with Russia. When Molotov was in Washington, he sized Truman up and undoubtedly reported at length to Stalin. The big lever here is economic. Russia needs postwar aid, and is waiting to see the mood of Congress. Well—what is the mood of Congress?

1. The Senate passed the Mexican water treaty, with reservations, 76 to 10. The great majority were eager to continue the "good-neighbor" policy. But it also showed how a few die-hard Senators can hold up a reasonable treaty for months.

2. The vital monetary and banking agreement, signed by the representatives of 44 nations at Bretton Woods, in which Russia is deeply concerned, is held up by a handful of Republicans in the House Banking Committee. I should expect ultimate passage, however; probably in a watered-down version.

3. The isolationist Johnson Act, banning loans to ex-defaulting countries, will probably be repealed; the lending powers of the Export-Import Bank will probably be extended. The Soviet Union—and the rest of the world—will like that.

4. The biggest fight, however, is over the extension of a strengthened reciprocal trade act. The 10 GOP members of the House Ways and Means Committee are now solidly resisting the Roosevelt-Truman bill, which must be passed by June 12 or else the present tariff-reduction law expires. In the Hawley-Smoot tariff of 1930 Republicans put up the highest tariff wall ever erected around the United States. (Within two years 25 countries set up retaliatory tariffs: some argue that America's act caused World War II.) House Republicans voted 99 to 2 against the Hull Act, designed to reduce the damage, in 1934; voted 81 to 3 against renewal in 1937; voted 146 to 5 against a second renewal in 1940; approved war renewal in 1943, and now seem headed back again to former prewar, high-tariff isolationism. The architect's plans for a new world order are being drawn at San Francisco, but the plaster, bricks and lumber for the great edifice are piled here on the curb, in Washington, and half the workers who should be building it seem to be on strike.

I understand the Yalta agreement on the control of Berlin, when it is captured, calls for four separate city zones, under respective Russian, British, French and United States management. Over-all military rule will be Russian. Originally it was intended that Berlin should also be the seat of the Allied Control Commission for all Germany, but if the capital is merely a mass of rubble, as seems likely, some other city may be chosen, for the purely physical reason that there won't be sufficient living space in Berlin for four great staffs. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin also agreed at Yalta on the zones of occupation for Germany, but these remain unpublished, I understand, because British and United States boundaries are being altered to permit a French zone. The latter will include portions of the Rhineland, but not the Ruhr. The Russian zone is unchanged; it will include East Prussia.

Notes.—William Green's AFL won't pay its $5,000 dues to the International Federation of Trade Unions, headed by Sir Walter Citrine, making the breach all but complete; the IFTU is emerging as a new world labor group, including the CIO and the Soviet unions. . . . The Woman's Party "Equal Rights Amendment," indorsed by Truman and opposed by organized labor, has now passed the House Judiciary Committee, 15 to 7. . . . Washington correspondents are asking if it is really necessary to continue the voluntary war code of censorship on Truman's travels, put into effect for Roosevelt; Truman is much more mobile than Roosevelt, and his sudden appearances

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about Washington make good copy. . . . Morris Ernst's book, just published, *The Best Is Yet,* has a vitriolic attack on Arthur Krock, blamed by Ernst for "driving Sumner Welles out of office." . . . Agreement is general that Truman is an earnest but mediocre speaker, lacking qualities that thrill audiences, but compensating for these deficiencies by directness and sincerity.

Washington T. R. B.

Oklahoma's Little Sister

Carousel, music by Richard Rodgers, book and lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II. Based on Ferenc Molnar's "Liliom," as adapted by Benjamin F. Glazer. Majestic Theatre, April 19, 1945.

THANKS to the statements of well known scholars and to research efforts in his direction, Shakespeare has been accepted as the most famous and most often mentioned dramatist of his time. (The seventeenth century would be that time; his death was in 1616.) Ben Jonson was listed as second. The position of this argument must be changed in the light of Professor Bentley's two volumes on *Shakespeare and Jonson.*[1] In this most careful and scholarly research he proves that it was Jonson who was the favorite, most generally admired and most often, by far, mentioned —in the first four decades of the century, in fact, there are four times as many allusions to Jonson as there are to Shakespeare, and that should be a shock to all of us.

With regard to characters, however, the position is reversed. Five of the six most commonly mentioned characters are Shakespeare's. They are Falstaff, Hamlet, Brutus, Julius Cæsar and Othello, and far and away above them all is Falstaff. This report must indeed be a surprise to many who have read or thought of the subject at all, as to whether or not Shakespeare was easily the most revered and most often mentioned dramatist of his epoch.

In our epoch, so far certainly as the English-speaking theatre goes, we have no Shakespeare—and no Ben Jonson for that matter. But merely bringing up the subject may afford an interesting sidelight on "Liliom." This play of Molnar's would not be called a great drama, not by the silliest column writer of theatre chit-chat. But it seems destined to last a long time, longer than many a worthier drama. It has, doubtless, been played around the world by now; this version with music is the fourth performance that even I have seen, the fourth Julie, the fourth Liliom.

"Liliom" grows with repetition. We are more and more compelled to enter into its basic idea, its heavily scored and sure-fire motif and procedure. The sum of which is, perhaps, that it discovers for itself the character and outline of fable. But for the fact that the theme is more subtle and complex, this story of the bully and his secret heart and of love might become as final as that of Cinderella. (Which after all, in addition to being simpler in theme, got a running start from the seventh century before Christ, in Egypt.)

The Theatre Guild's production of "Carousel," the new name for "Liliom," is a generous one, lively, amiable and lavish. The locale is very wisely changed from Vienna, which would have kept everything stumbling between the two stools of what is natural and what is Viennese—always an unholy mess in our stage efforts at the foreign. "Carousel" is located somewhere on the New England coast, Cape Cod would do. The effect as a whole represents most competently our present tendency to convert musical comedy into opera or what you will, just as the musical show's animation or dancing or what you will has moved toward ballet. Of all this I am no judge and it would be absurd for me to assume any such attitude. I could not say honestly when it seems to me good or bad, any more than I could pronounce on a Thanksgiving dinner at a cafeteria. I am further hindered by a consideration of how third-rate most of the opera and most of the ballet we see is—lively third-rate would be the right description of the New York busy efforts in such direction.

I looked prayerfully at the huge audience assembled for "Carousel" and could not say how many were full of the love of art and how many full of dinner. At any rate, the earlier portion of the evening seemed to go somewhat slowly, the rest to pick up. None of the songs seemed inflammably good, but nothing over-boring. Miss Agnes de Mille has worked the dances into good, muscular form, not lovely but agreeable and determined, sometimes quite charming. Mr. Jo Mielziner has done settings of unusual charm and effectiveness, and even more than that by way of beauty here and there. Mr. Miles White's costumes, numberless as they are, are a veritable Godey's book of patterns and modes, in a ravishing color scheme and a very witty variety of design.

Mr. John Raitt, Miss Jan Clayton, Miss Jean Darling and Mr. Eric Mattson as Liliom, Julie, her friend Carrie and her friend's husband Enoch, were agreeable enough—Mr. Mattson could even sing if he had a real chance. Miss Christine Johnson as the older, wholesome friend of everybody has a handsome ability to keep on the note as well as a beautiful, disturbing voice.

The best, and one may say only, acting in the company was that of Mr. Russell Collins. He has the role of the Star-keeper and also that of the doctor speaking to the graduation class. In the program notes of these pleasant people, none of whom could be seriously called actors, Mr. Collins' name comes twelfth.

The fact remains that of all the large company Mr. Russell Collins is the only person engaged who is an actor, almost biologically distinct from the rest, and who was ever taken seriously as an actor—in "Johnny Johnson" he played the title role to something like a furore only a few seasons ago. And are there many in the audience at "Carousel" who know or care about that? This may well serve as an instance of how our deadly lack of continuity wastes and cripples art, theatre art and art in general. That may be one way of approaching the subject and may be a comment on why our acting amounts to so little. At any rate Mr. Collins' only fault as an actor, perhaps, is that he needs a little more piggishness, to assert himself more greedily here and there, to grab off slices of our attention as some ranker star, however dim or not dim, might do. Otherwise if Mr. Collins can stand it, I can. I am grateful for such beautiful acting, in such precise and gracious taste and such rightness of technique.

STARK YOUNG

[1] Shakespeare and Jonson, by Gerald Eades Bentley. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press. Two vols.; 456 pages. $6.

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Four Flats

"Salty O'Rourke" is energetic in a heavy commercial way, is interested primarily in gags for people who will laugh at anything, and, without any particular wish to be socially satirical or realistic, kids many of the traditional virtues and glorifies treachery, gunplay, lawlessness, an adolescent gangster, drinking, promiscuity and the self-concerned spirit. The quality of its fun is that of erotic drawings on public signs, done with no eye, experience or talent for aping such art. The two heroes are a forging, cynical racing character (Alan Ladd), in the clutches of a rival gangster (Bruce Cabot), and a jockey, who is the script writer's darling; he practises every sin and is the kind of adolescent the movies used to illustrate the early youth of a public enemy or the result of parents who smoked opium. The jockey is played by Stanley Clements, who is probably being rewarded with this trashiest of starring roles for his blood-curdling, humorously intended whipping of a little friend in "Going My Way." He is advertised as "the beloved roughneck." His Dead End Kid strutting, belligerency and show-off mannerisms seem to me graceless and badly accented. If there were a degree of the brutishness in him of the real-life character he caricatures he would be as terrifying as anything you could see on the screen. Most of the picture has to do with the humor of his drinking, cigar smoking, his making a fool of and his being fawned over by more virtuous people, including a heroine (Gail Russell) who is treated with unusual contempt by everyone from cameraman to actors.

"The Silver Fleet" is an English melodrama that shows more desire for visualizing story and character and for making both look more authentic than any of the other movies mentioned in this review. It uses an actual shipyard town, fairly real-life lighting and fairly non-actorish players, and has many of the advantages that usually go with making a good film at small cost. It has the misfortune to be least convincing at the most crucial moments, and it makes a minimum number of not very original observations on Underground patriots and Nazis. Its main interest in the story of a Dutch shipowner and his work against the Nazis is to impress you with his cunning at the expense of showing you anything at all about the people or the Occupation. Like a number of Underground films, it shows lives being unreservedly given up for the hero or for some hardly mentioned patriotic reason, when it is too obvious that the movie takes their sacrifices for granted and is mainly concerned with getting out a reasonable-enough-looking adventure story and in the romantic work of fashioning heroism. The one Nazi who is at all delineated is given an extremely hoked-up ghoulishness of biting his nails, contorting his tic-ridden face and swilling food that is impressive as ghoulishness but not as being about Nazis. The performance by Ralph Richardson as the shipowner is filled with an unusual amount of somewhat self-congratulatory naturalistic pantomime that makes for a rich characterization.

"Without Love" is worthlessly pleasant until it becomes obvious that its people—a "crazy" scientist who marries a society girl on a loveless basis, an alcoholic playboy, a good-natured gigolo, a selfish, spoiled society girl and a brisk, nice career girl—are the ones you saw all those other times, and that there is going to be no problem. It has some good comedy lines written by Philip Barry and Donald Ogden Stewart and the very neat, efficient, shy comedy style of Keenan Wynn as the playboy which enables him to walk off with the picture—for about the fourth time. Another MGM film, "The Valley of Decision," only proves that this company will always be willing to spend a fortune on a movie about a great American industrial family, starring Greer Garson.

"Salty O'Rourke" is dime fiction, with the level of insight, knowledge, feeling and wit about as low as you can go; "Without Love" reminds you of Buck Rogers when its characters are at work on their oxygen mask, of a soap opera when they talk about love and withdrawing from life, and of the old Cary Grant-Irene Dunne affairs when it comes to skirting problems and ending the movie. "The Silver Fleet" is no more important than a Nazi v. Underground comic strip; the Greer Garson film is the circulating-library version of the soap opera. There isn't an original, meant to be deeply affecting, character in them; they are filled with characterizations, like Ladd's, Clements', Tracy's, Hepburn's, that each has done innumerable times before. The most disturbing element is that in their diluted naturalistic style there is hardly a try at actually affecting the audience emotionally by use of the camera, cutting rhythm, juxtaposition of images, contrast of tone and texture in the photography, or by any other means. Not only is the reality shown weak, untrustworthy or overworked; there is no attempt to make it felt by its audience. Raoul Walsh's directing of "Salty O'Rourke" is completely uninterested in any cinematic standard; there is a moment in the Hepburn-Tracy movie when a meek attempt is made, during the try-out of a flyer's oxygen mask, to use sound with emotional effect. The best you can normally expect from a movie today is that some person or persons may attempt to make hopelessly inartistic, innocuous films just a little less so. This fact is apparent in Tay Garnett's direction of "The Valley of Decision," in which he manages to get some edge and plainness into characters, life and sets that he will hardly be allowed by MGM standards to probe.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

STOCK PRICES RISE TO EIGHT-YEAR TOP
Upturn Is Laid to Belief That New President
Will Stress Representative Government
—*Head and subhead in the New York* Times.

The Florida black-marketers got their meat from New York, he said, and were protesting that some "illegitimate" black-marketers in New York were charging 10 cents a pound above the black-market scale.—*F. M. Tobin of Rochester, testifying before a senatorial committee investigating the food situation, as quoted in the Baltimore Evening* Sun.

As for little Carol Ann, Scott said, "that little baby can't even live on $75 a week now. I don't know what she'll do when she gets older."—*Joan Barry's lawyer, Joseph Scott, commenting on the verdict in Miss Barry's suit against Charlie Chaplin, as quoted in the New York* Daily News.

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. . . No one, of course, will admit actual knowledge of black-market dealings in European Axis bonds, but it is widely rumored that such a market exists. It is fairly certain that there is no underhand trading in Japanese bonds, probably because no one can be found who considers them of any potential value whatever. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Perish Forbid!

GUAM IS DECLARED NEW PEARL HARBOR
Being Made an Impregnable Fortress
Marine General in Command Asserts

– *Head and subhead in the New York* Times.

Nobody Down Here But Us Chickens, Boss

Described as "the greatest humanitarian in the United States," William Randolph Hearst will be awarded the Paddy Reilly Medal of Honor by the Greenwich Humane League, 55 Eighth Avenue [New York City], in recognition of "all he's done for animals," the League announced today. – *From the Chicago* Herald-American.

That All-Out Effort

Mary Brian found life a bed of roses until she visited European battlefronts. The maturing effect of war, she hopes, will help her screen career. – *Caption on a picture of Miss Brian in the Los Angeles* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Nations v. Voting Power

SIR: In your issue of April 9, a letter from Mr. Bartholomew Landheer asserts that "there is hardly a serious thinker to be found who has advocated that countries should be given influence corresponding to their size, population. . . ." Yet, in the same letter, the author pleads for increased influence of the small nations on the explicit ground that "the smaller nations of Europe represent about one-half of the people of the earth." Without concerning ourselves with the obvious error of the author's statistical computations . . . we clearly see that he very rightly recognizes the decisive importance of the only factor that should count—the size of population.

This writer thinks that voting power according to numbers of (literate) inhabitants is the only fair and only practicable principle. It is just to *people* everywhere. . . . "Equal rights of all nations, large or small" is a fallacy; nothing can be built upon a slogan which everyone knows to be untrue. The uneasiness caused by recent disclosures about the secret Crimea agreement only bespeaks the fundamental deceitfulness of an impracticable principle which cannot in the end escape being shattered. "Nations," whether large or small, are much too fluid a concept . . . to constitute elementary units for a One World organization. What is real is a human person, whether he be a Dutchman, an American, a Russian or an Esthonian. What is just is: equal rights to every person, no matter to what nation he happens to belong. Translated into procedure, this means, in the present political set-up of the world, voting power according to size of population.

Princeton, N. J. N. THON

Travesty of Democracy

SIR: I would like to call your attention to a law in Tennessee which is being rigidly enforced. It is laws of this ilk that make democracy and education a travesty in certain areas of the United States. It is only by pitiless public scrutiny and scorn that such injustices can be wiped out. This is how the law reads:

ARTICLE XXXIX: UNLAWFUL TO EMPLOY ALIENS AS TEACHERS

426; 2513. *In What Public Schools; Teachers of White Pupils; Violation a misdemeanor; fine; forfeiture of office.* It shall be unlawful for the trustees of the University of Tennessee, the State Board of Education, or any county or city board of education, or any other person, to employ any superintendent, principal, teacher, tutor, supervisor or other person to have in any way the custody and care of students of the public educational institutions of this state who is not a citizen of the United States of America; and it is further provided that no person shall be employed to teach or have custody over white pupils except persons of the Caucasian race who were born in the United States, and who themselves have spoken the English language since childhood. Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than $50 nor more than $100, and shall forfeit his office. (1925, ch. 115, sec. 31.)

A particularly unjust case happened in Norris. Mrs. M—— was born in Norway, and came to the United States when she was two. She became a citizen when she was eight. She has had five years of teaching experience, holds a degree from the University of Chicago, and meets every requirement for teaching in the state of Tennessee, except the one quoted above.

Mrs. M——'s husband died some time ago, and she was forced to look for means of support for herself and her two children. The State Department of Education refused to certify her and, of course, the County Superintendent could not hire her, although the principal of Norris school requested that she be employed. Mrs. M—— is being deprived of the right to gain a livelihood by pursuing her profession.

Mrs. M—— has lived and paid taxes in Tennessee for ten years. She has been a valued and loved member of the Norris community for years. She has a brother overseas in the armed forces. She is not, however, entitled to the privileges of a citizen in Tennessee.

Norris, Tenn. DALE E. TAYLOR

Biddle and Conscientious Objectors

SIR: It may be of interest to *New Republic* readers to know that a few weeks ago Attorney General Francis Biddle recommended to Congress that overseas relief work be opened up to conscientious objectors and that their dependents receive allotments from the impounded salaries of privately employed objectors on detached service. The Attorney General urged establishment of a single board to classify all objectors into appropriate categories and assign them to "suitable and useful work." He asked, further, that the Department of Justice follow up with the framing of proper legislation to facilitate "greater service of objectors to society."

His proposals, the first of their kind from an official as high-ranking as Mr. Biddle, followed more than four years of con-

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tinuous criticism of the inequities of the present alternative-service program for objectors, climaxed recently by disturbances at the government-operated "punishment camp" at Germfask, Michigan, where campers were accused of boondoggling. The disturbance, lavishly and inaccurately reported in the Detroit press and *Time* magazine, was followed closely by the resignation of the government-appointed camp manager, an ex-serviceman, who observed that he had "found the Selective Service treatment of men in this camp to be the reëstablishment of slavery in our nation. . . . As a liberty-loving American citizen and ex-serviceman, I cannot take part in administrating a system of unpaid, forced labor."

Thus, it seems to me, the matter overreaches the purely sectarian interests of pacifists and their supporters, and Selective Service, in the pursuit of its repressive policies, finds itself at variance with sentiment in still another quarter. It is Selective Service that has asked for legislation to bring objectors under "military discipline" to curb the so-called rebels in the affair at Germfask, criticizing the federal courts as inadequate. It is Selective Service that has dispatched legal officers to the courts to sabotage liberal treatment. It is Selective Service that has stipulated to the Prison Bureau the narrowest possible parole conditions. It is Selective Service that has continually resisted fundamental changes in the alternative-service program and attempts to transfer it to another agency.

The Attorney General even hinted at total exemption for objectors, as provided in the British law, as one solution to administrative difficulties and asked Congress to weigh the possibility, among others, in any further consideration of conscription legislation.

His proposals, while they do not represent an over-all solution to the wartime problems of objectors, were described by pacifists and their supporters as a decided step forward in the "intelligent treatment of conscience." That they would be backed by the American public as a whole is decisively indicated by the recent opinion polls of Dr. Leo P. Crespi of Princeton University.

New York City WALTER RAE

A Serviceman on Unions

SIR: Yesterday I was in the office when the mail arrived. I noticed that several members of my squadron received a pro-labor newsletter via the mails. At first I was very happy about this because I like to think that the anti-labor campaign in the United States press is being properly counteracted. However, my joy was short-lived because I learned that the only reason they were receiving this publication was that trade unions were sending the newsletter to former union members. When I saw a GI throw it into the fire without even looking at it, I decided to investigate the attitude of these men in reference to their union. [Ninety-one words censored by the War Department, Bureau of Public Relations.] My conclusions are these:

1. Although Peglerian chatter and the anti-labor press are responsible for distrust of labor unions, they are not the sole cause. Leading members of labor unions are all too prone to set up an "intellectuals' corner" and act as though they have a monopoly on "liberal" thinking, thereby making themselves obnoxious to other members.

2. Union activities must be popularized, and the interest of members must be aroused through clubs, community life and social affairs. Members must be brought together in a "community of interests." A large body of indifferent and neglected members are easy prey for a demagogue or labor spy who aims to destroy the union. The ILGWU exemplifies what a good trade union should be like.

3. Large unions, like large monopolies or chains, can fall into the hands of racketeers, and the rights of members can be curtailed. Unions must be supervised. Such practices as exorbitant fees, coercion, employer-racketeer agreements, must be smashed by an investigating board set up by the Department of Labor. The administrative machinery of labor unions should be subject to review by such a board. The Wagner Act was a great stride forward, but its provisions do not go far enough. The worker is protected against arbitrary employer actions, collective bargaining is fostered, but the worker is not protected against capricious actions by the union leaders.

Unionization has made rapid strides, for the trade union has become a great social force. Because it is such a powerful public force, it is in the public interest to see that it does not become the implement of exploitation. A smooth working pattern for labor-management dealings cannot be evolved unless unions become a cohesive force, playing a role similar to the one the NAM plays in its sphere.

It is not a question of communism in the unions—or open shops v. closed shops: it is a question of reviving the respect and admiration which the unions need in order to survive.

APO, New York City CPL. H. N.

Why Don't Consumers Get Together?

SIR: I just came across this passage in the *New Republic*—in T. R. B.'s column [March 19, 1945]: "What amazes this correspondent almost more than anything else, after a score of years in Washington, is the failure of consumers—as such—to find more articulate voice. . . ."

I wish you would speak to some of us coöperators and bawl us out for not taking a more active part in politics. There's a tradition against it. We have a representative in Washington who merely observes but isn't supposed to influence. To be sure, we sometimes send postcards to Washington, but that doesn't happen very often. What we ought to have, I believe, is a really strong lobby right on the spot. Why couldn't we get together with other groups representing the interests of the consumers?

MARJORY PRATT,

Newark, N. J. Coöperative Federation of New Jersey

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Louise Stickney, of New York City, writes to us in favor of abolishing the Senate's power to block the use of force to carry out decisions of the Security Council, as set up under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. She says, "The will of the majority as expressed in the decisions of the council of nations should be final in every dispute brought before the organization. Refusal to abide by the Council's decisions should be absolutely automatically punishable by force. . . . It is not worth while to sacrifice civilization to the two-thirds vote."

The City-Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem, 516 Fifth Avenue, New York City 18, sends us a letter signed by Algernon D. Black, Lawrence D. Reddick, James M. Wolf and Robert M. Benjamin, urging the joint effort of all liberals to make the recently passed Ives-Quinn anti-discrimination bill work in New York, both as an example to other states, and as the fulfilment of an obligation undertaken by those who supported the bill. The legislation should serve "not only as a remedial measure against abuses due to prejudice, but also as an educational measure towards the reduction of prejudice itself."

Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace will receive the 1945 award of the *Churchman*, given for "the promotion of good will and better understanding among all people." Mr. Wallace, who was selected by a committee composed of more than a thousand leaders in industry, labor, the church, the legal profession and others, will receive the award at the annual dinner of the *Churchman* associates, to be held June 4 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.

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Books in Review

Journey or Quest?

WHETHER ONE REFERS to its form or content, *The Long Journey*,[1] a trilogy that won for its Danish author the 1944 Nobel Prize for Literature, is about as difficult to describe as a late Beethoven quartet. It is not a symbolical novel, though symbols guide the course of the work, and its incident, except in the last volume of the trilogy, is wholly fictional. It is neither a connected history nor an allegorical drama of man's spiritual evolution, though both descriptions are in some measure appropriate. Something of the difficulty of writing about the book may be understood from this. The first volume deals with the pre-Ice Age conquest of fire (robbed from Gunung Api, a stupendous volcano of the Baltic region); the second volume treats principally of the Cimbrian invasion of Europe and the mingling of the nations just before the Dark Age; while the third deals with the discovery of the American continent by Columbus.

At first and even at second sight it is hard to conceive of a common denominator that might bring three such experiences within the boundaries of a single concept. And while having read the book with deep pleasure, I am still unconvinced that the attempted unification is wholly valid, though I am bound to accept the evidence of my wits that Mr. Jensen has been moved by it to write a massive and impressive work. His scheme is more or less as follows. When the Ice Age had razed the warm North European forests, a restless, fire-possessing folk still remained. Their restlessness invented the ship. The Forest becomes the ship and the northerners go in search of the Lost Land. Christianity, moving north from Asia Minor and from the Mediterranean, meets the northerners as they stream southward and the new faith again revives the old memory of a Lost Land. "From this union of south and north springs the most beautiful myth of the Middle Ages—the Virgin Mary, Goddess of Spring . . . the soul of the northerner and the arts of the Ancients in one." Another of the forest symbols is Ygdrasil, the World Tree, and this in the Middle Ages becomes the cathedral. Then, "a migration checked for the time leads to expansion in the domain of the soul; thus the aspiration of the northerner gathers and transforms memories of the youth of the race and Christian symbols into a work of art . . . the Forest and the Ship become the Church." Finally the age of voyages begins again and the Church changes back into the Ship. Columbus searches for Heaven and finds the savages of Guanahani. The impulse derived from memory of the Lost Land as primeval forest has met the Tropics. The Ship that was a Church has become the Forest. The cycle is complete.

The question cannot be evaded. Is there any validity in these concepts? Certainly *The Long Journey* cannot and does not claim to be either chronicle or history. And yet, if Man cannot comprehend his experience without a Myth, if he fails to organize his emotions without symbols, if he never brings his haunting conscience into relation with reality without a sense of a continuity of the race, then some such formulation as Jensen's is valid. As he says, "We cannot survey things that are dispersed in time and place" without such a plan. The world may be viewed in many other ways, through the organizing power of other concepts, but this is the myth by means of which this northerner will analyze the nature of Quest.

Understood in this fashion, many of the objections are removed. The most stubborn of those I felt in reading the book was Jensen's overestimate of the north. My glance kept straying to my bookshelves, to fall upon Toynbee, on Freud, on Breasted, Hall, on Fraser, with thoughts of Asia Minor, Egypt and Greece and the Mediterranean. Mr. Jensen, in asking me to imagine the medieval church as synthesized out of the racial forest memories of the north and the arts of the south, was asking me to make so great an effort that it was natural that I should fall back upon what he may consider mere prejudices. And indeed I do rebel when I am asked to believe that so great a part of Christianity came out of the north. The Church of the Middle Ages was not only a cathedral and not only a sacramental system. It was Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. And that remark, as well as anything, represents the real nature of my objection. The philosophies came out of the Mediterranean basin; particularly the Christian philosophy. There is nothing of all this in Mr. Jensen's plan. He makes the contribution of the south too exclusively artistic.

For my part, I have no objection to anti-rationalism as a temper, but I do resent anti-intellectualism. One may recognize the importance and universality of "Quest," but quest of what? A spiritual state, an impetus, a wholeness, a mode of being? If so, then more is required of Mr. Jensen than he has done. He has not adequately defined his mode, and he could not, within his terms, for he has too much neglected the intellect.

Yet there is a massive power in *The Long Journey*. There is something impressive about all such views as Mr. Jensen's, views which make man's fate a consequence at once of a causally determined process and of imaginative initiative. In this case the force of the suggestion is immense. For the determinism itself springs from the primeval memory, the images of which are constantly recreated as symbols at ever higher levels of activity. One sees that the author's philosophy makes a bold effort to replace the dichotomy of matter and mind with the far more fruitful one of the Archaic and its recreation. In one sense he has drawn a rich prize from the Freudian revolution, though in the last account his anti-intellectualism has violated the true meaning of that revolution, which was intended to free man's mind from its excessive archaic burdens. Mr. Jensen is a man of courage, and though his cyclic conception at its close conveys a sense of defeat, this pessimism should not be exaggerated. The over-all effect is one of ascension and the conquest of dignity. And that, in these days, is reason for gratitude.

[1] The Long Journey, by Johannes V. Jensen. With an introduction by Francis Hackett. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 698 pages. $3.50.

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The demerits of the scheme from the purely literary standpoint are those inevitable in all imaginative efforts to reconstruct the archaic past. The reader must put up with too much bashing of skulls—too much gorging of raw meat. And he must read through much elementary material as context for the "Great Discoveries." There are other things to be set against these, however, such as the scenes of forest fire and the eruptions of Gunung Api. And in the second volume the incidental pleasures are numerous; the tour-de-force of the Baltic spring festival is surely unforgettable, as is the pervasive feeling of new life, of discovery and eagerness. For me, the high plateau of *The Long Journey* is not the one in which the Christian Cortes at last stands victorious over the horrible god Huitzilopochtli, but the Cimbrian march over the center of Europe. There is beauty in it. And this beauty, while it does not rise to splendor, transforms these simple incidents and at times quite redeems the coarse texture of the long-plodding prose. When at last I put the book down I again found myself glancing at Toynbee's mighty work with desire to read in it. That is some little indication of Mr. Jensen's strength. RALPH BATES

Deep South

Swing Low, by Edwin A. Peeples. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 293 pages. $2.50.

THE PITFALLS awaiting a white man, however sincere, who tries to write folkwise about the Negro are all too apparent. The realistic writing of the last few years has made the stereotype stand out like a sore thumb, and once more presented with the old pattern, it seems as hackneyed as the slick-magazine formula. We recognize the familiar setting; the quaint people in black face singing to take the sting off hard work, cutting each other with razors and switchblades, drinking too much and forgetful of sexual morals, the happy children who would go to hell if the good white folks weren't there to protect them from the crackers and bail them out of jail on Monday morning.

For a good third of *Swing Low* Mr. Peeples flounders down the familiar road, then somewhere along the way he suddenly forgets that he is dealing with Negroes and starts writing about human beings, and for a good part of his novel what he writes has real pathos and understanding. If it were not for this fact his book would hardly be worth the space that I am devoting to it.

This happens to be a first novel and Mr. Peeples writes well enough to merit serious consideration; that he is a white Southerner who has deep sympathy for the Negro is likewise important. But feeling that sympathy, one can only wish he had avoided so many racial clichés which are bound to be resented, and with reason, by those for whom he feels most sorry. For when he is telling the simple story of Willy Mack, who came off a Georgia farm because Amy, his woman, liked the city, and whose only dream was some day to get back on the land where the living is easy, Mr. Peeples is a gifted novelist writing of human beings with great tenderness. It is when he writes of the Negro as a mass in, I am sure, an unintentionally patronizing manner, that one is acutely conscious that this is a white man creating his own impression of Negro life in the South.

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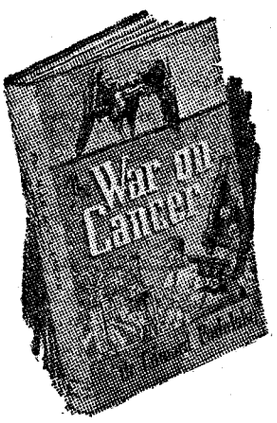

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It is not that there is no violence, crime or sordidness among the Negroes of Billiard Alley in Atlanta, or the other segregated slums throughout the South. There is, and as Richard Wright pointed out in *Black Boy*, it may be the only life *some* Negroes know. But where Wright shows us why this is so, Peeples merely gives the impression that *all* Negroes in the South would be content with their lot if only they were assured protection, in the law courts, against the rednecks like Mr. Hadley, who hate Negroes and use them with malice and vengeance. I'm afraid it goes deeper than that. *Black Boy* makes a reader feel indignation and shame at being white; *Swing Low* is likely only to make most readers sorry that some white Southerners won't let the Negro be happy in the sunshine outside the cabin door.

If I am unduly hard on Mr. Peeples it is because he has fallen into an error common to most white Southerners; he has mistaken the Negro for the role the Negro must play in order to keep free of the White South's violence. He has, it is true, shown us some of that violence and his deep disapproval of it, yet by repeating the old patterns which many anti-Negro forces would have us believe, he has undone some of the good which realistic writing on racial themes has accomplished in the past few years. *Swing Low* will probably sell like hot cakes, but I doubt that to be the author's only purpose in writing it. In his next book one hopes that he will not rely on his sympathy alone, for it is no longer enough. There is another kind of pay dirt for a talented novelist who will dig deeply enough, and whatever else I may feel, I cannot deny Mr. Peeples that label.

BUCKLIN MOON

Beyond the Call of Duty

Surrender on Demand, by Varian Fry. New York: Random House. 243 pages. $3.

VARIAN FRY'S BOOK begins with the understatement that it "is the story of an experiment in democratic solidarity." Those who participated in this "experiment" will know that it is more, but any reader who in this cruel world has preserved a feeling for suffering humanity will come to the same conclusion. For in his book Fry unfolds one of the noble enterprises of our epoch: the daring venture of an American in the struggle against fascism. Though a factual report, his book has the suspense of a thriller. The facts it discloses and the manner of their presentation mold it into an epos America may well be proud of.

This war has brought forth a great number of books. Special accomplishments of different branches of the armed forces, exploits of certain battleships, experiences of pilots and marines teeming with heroism and courage in the face of death are by now adding up to a whole literature. Yet, analyzing all these books in order to detect this war's fundamental difference from other modern wars, there is little to be found aside from technical "progress" in the infernal destruction of fellow humans. This, then, is the real significance of Fry's book: that it tells of the gallant determination of a group of people of one nation to save at the risk of their own lives imperiled people of an enemy nation. Unequaled in any previous war, this phenomenon shows clearly

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that World War II is seen by at least some of our contemporaries as something more than just another armed feud between hostile nations. If we had no other manifestation of the real meaning of these times, Varian Fry's account of the rescue of the refugees in France would suffice to give historic evidence that there exists a worldwide fight for freedom beyond all frontiers. The power politics of the big nations, the selfishness and moral weakness of their politicians may have distorted the true picture of the universal conflict and misinterpreted its issues. What Varian Fry, his sponsors and assistants have done, will, like an indestructible monument, outlast the blighted hopes of all true champions of liberty.

When the cries for help of the refugees from Nazi Germany and the other occupied countries who had been trapped in the military debacle of France increased in number and urgency, the Emergency Rescue Committee, established in New York, decided to send Fry as its representative to France. Due to the fact that the armistice between Vichy and the Nazis contained the clause that France was "obliged to *surrender on demand* all Germans named by the German government," Fry's rescue action had to be executed under the very noses of antagonistic French and German authorities. The blurb of his book says that Fry reveals in its pages "the dramatic story of the underground organization set up by Americans in France to rescue anti-Nazis from the Gestapo." The record of this organization, as given by Fry, follows: "In less than eight months 15,000 people had come to us or written to us. We had to consider every one of their cases and take a decision on it. . . . Eighteen hundred of the cases fell within the scope of our activities, of these we paid weekly living allowances to 560 and sent more than 1,000 out of France."

But these are merely figures. Only those who were part of the story can realize the courage and self-sacrifice, the risk and genuine love of humanity the sober figures conceal. As one of those who were saved by this action, it is a great privilege for me to testify for Varian Fry, the man and his accomplishment. Yet I wish to say only this: Meeting him at the end of a journey through death and despair meant to us more than life. It gave us a new faith, that faith without which life is meaningless. We saw in him America.

In his report, Fry distributes impartially light and shadow. In the same just way in which he praises generous Visa-Consul Harry Bingham of Marseilles—whose kindness all who experienced it shall never forget—he points the finger of scorn at that arrogant United States official who treated not only many of us, but also Fry, "*en canaille.*" The State Department, so Fry reveals, not only did not support his efforts but even coöperated with Vichy and the Gestapo to set an end to his activities. Unfortunately, Fry's statement that those he rescued were of different kinds is also correct. "Not all, perhaps, have justified the efforts we made for them." On the other hand he knows very well that it was not the France he loves and we shall always love, which finally expelled him as an "undesirable alien" because, as the Vichy official put it, he had "protected Jews and anti-Nazis."

If it is true that the OWI selects books for translation and distribution in liberated Europe, *Surrender on Demand* should by all means be included in that list. Its educational value is tremendous.

WALTHER VICTOR

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Nature and Intelligence

Natural Principles of Land Use, by Edward H. Graham. New York: The Oxford University Press. 274 pages. $3.50.

THIS IS a distinguished book. Its subject is one which profoundly affects the course of our national life, for land use is one of the fundamental elements which must be wholly comprehended if society is to be healthy and thrive. Dr. Graham regards the land and its product from this point of view. His book is not a technical discourse, but a statement of principles derived from man's experience with the forces of nature. They are not dropped into a metaphysical vacuum, but are applied to the living complex of land use.

The frame of reference around which Dr. Graham as an ecologist has oriented his thinking is indicated by his statement that "a community of plants and animals has a character of its own and the capacity to act as an entity." A large section of the "pure" scientists in the field of biology object that ecology is a bastard science that is neither objective, specific nor confined to demonstrable fact. The ecologist's reply to this comes at the end of the book.

"It is becoming clear in this world of expert knowledge and specialized technique that we need a purpose for knowledge and an amazing amount of synthesis. We need, in fact, coördination within an individual's thinking. That means an appreciation of relationships not disturbed or diverted by knowledge of a great many facts or familiarity with a mass of details."

The material considered in this book is divided according to the various uses to which earth and water are put; farms, forests, range, water, and so on. Within this framework Dr. Graham discusses the method by which these uses can be better understood by the people who depend on them. First he explains the techniques by which communities of living forms are studied, and then he relates this technique to the methods of establishing or preserving the associations of the various forms of life in the natural community. The aim is to achieve a harmonious relationship in which man receives the fullest benefit while maintaining the productive capacity of the natural source of this benefit. Every farm and forest is a "unit of associated living things" in which man is just as much a controlling force as climate or soil.

The techniques of land use discussed here are addressed to what Dr. Graham calls "land managers." But the principles upon which these techniques are based are the concern of public policy and everyone who is affected by such policy. The primary emphasis, as the title suggests, is on the principles. During the exploitive period of our national development we thought in terms of production. When it became painfully apparent that this was but an elaborate process of self-destruction, we turned for help to the technicians who had grown up with this exploitive system. The farmer, the rancher, the hunter and the politician sought from these specialists a solution to the problem of declining yield. The answer came in terms of specific programs to solve specific problems. Today, as this book shows, we are beginning to see that cause and effect are an enormously complicated pattern of interrelationships. Fruitful land use depends on our understanding the principles by which these relationships are bound.

Natural Principles of Land Use is essentially a book about this idea. Although on a smaller scale, it is like Webb's *The Great Plains* or Marsh's *The Earth as Modified by Human Action* in that it is one of those rare discussions of the land in which the author is not overwhelmed by his information. It is not an elaborate array of uprooted facts. This book provides rather the material and the stimulus for cogent appraisal of the basic natural resources of life.

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Fascism Made Easy

The Plot Against the Peace, by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. New York: The Dial Press. 258 pages. $2.75.

BOOKS of the *Under Cover* genre are both valuable and dangerous. They are valuable because they reduce the complexities of politics to a level of understanding which is low enough to guarantee a vast audience and drive the danger of fascism home to those who might otherwise underestimate or even ignore it. But at the same time they are dangerous because they tend to confuse symptoms with causes, because they convey a sensational and partial picture of an intricate socio-political situation, and, above all, because they fail to supply a constructive and remedial alternative to fascism.

The volume reviewed here has all the strengths and weaknesses of this approach. Well documented and simple to understand, though sensationally written, it tells the story of the plans and actions against world peace of the German

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